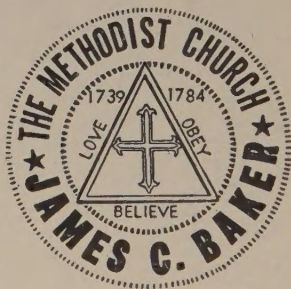


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THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

VOL. II.

O small beginnings, ye are great and strong,
Based on a faithful heart and weariless brain !
Ye build the future fair, ye conquer wrong,
Ye earn the crown, and wear it not in vain.

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THE STORY OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

BY

FRANCIS HERBERT STEAD, M.A.

Warden of Browning Hall, 1894—1921

AUTHOR OF

"THE UNSEEN LEADERSHIP," "THE PROLETARIAN
GOSPEL OF GALILEE," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II.

FROM REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION
TO THE PRESENT DAY

NEW YORK: GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY
LONDON: JAMES CLARKE & CO., LIMITED

"THE LIVING CHURCH" SERIES

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PREFACE

IN this, as in the preceding volume, I have kept in mind, not so much the scholar or the student as the ordinary man and woman, to whom Church history is a sealed book and Church Fathers are only shadowy figures called up to gibber in ecclesiastical controversies. The story of familiar as well as of unfamiliar periods has been given as though told for the first time ; and it has been told as far as may be in the words of the actors themselves or of the earliest witnesses.

This is a religious history : it is, therefore, not written in the manner of secular history, in which, too often, the Supreme Factor is regarded as merely a devout imagination of the human agent. Rather has the method of Scripture, however distantly, been aimed at, of making evident throughout the action of the Transcendent Will.

The reading of this record will, it is hoped, stir the same feeling of Christian unity as is aroused by reading a modern hymnal. In doing His will for society, as in singing of His love, members of all denominations are seen to be members of one family. Pugnacious partisans are disarmed when they find how much of the social benefits they enjoy comes from their traditional opponents. In following the tale of social progress unfolded in these pages, the reader will note the invaluable pioneer work done

PREFACE

by Catholic saints, ancient and modern, the perennial influence of Franciscanism, the educational service of the Society of Jesus, the political achievements of Independent and Baptist, the ever-recurring initiative of the Quakers, the effect of Methodism on the Labour movement, and in general the vast social results accruing from the straitest Evangelical teaching. These things have their meaning for theology, as well as for practical reform in social and ecclesiastical spheres.

The evidential or apologetical value of this social story ought to impress even the most careless reader. Complaints of the slow progress of the work of Christ in the world vanish when we observe what He has made, in the civilized Europe and America of to-day, out of the Barbaric and brutal Europe of the fifth century—in a period of only twenty successive human lives of seventy years each. When we think of the little we have let Him make of our lives in forty or fifty years or less, we begin to form some idea of the colossal opposition and retardation which He has had to fight all through those centuries but which He is—slowly—conquering.

The author will be profoundly grateful if this very imperfect narrative brings home to the minds of modern men and women the actual, incessant, and personal activity of the ever-living Christ.

F. H. S.

29, GROSVENOR PARK, LONDON, S.E. 5.

August 11th, 1924.

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PERIOD X

THE REMAKING OF EUROPE : REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION, A.D. 1492-1600

§ 1. *Revolt of the Christian Conscience*

Oceanic Expansion. Clerical Profligacy. Reform begun in Spain.
ERASMUS. "The Prince" and "Utopia."

WHEN Columbus crossed the Atlantic, he initiated what may be termed the Oceanic phase of social development. He broke the spell of the Mediterranean. His historic voyage typified that expansion of the human horizon which was going on in many directions—in the Renaissance, in the end of the Eastern Roman Empire, in the beginnings of world-trade East and West, in the nearing dawn of vast astronomic discoveries, in the "approaching trample" of Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

In the light of this larger day appear more clearly the limiting, distorting and even opposing influences which prevented the Social Evangel of the Nazarene from remaking Society according to His standard. The first deflection came from Judaism. Jewish legalism and the Jewish sense of approaching judg-

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ment changed the Kingdom of God from a social reconstruction of the world into a means of individual acquittal at the last assize : Jewish priest and Levite were smuggled in as presbyter and deacon ; and Jewish worship of the letter came later to invest even Christian Scripture with its mechanical outwardness. Then entered Hellenism. The deep-seated Greek superstition that knowledge was virtue, shifted the spiritual centre of gravity from the Will to the Intellect, put mental assent to theological propositions in place of personal surrender to the living Christ, laid chief stress on right opinion rather than on right life, and, after centuries of harm, found its logical issue in the Inquisition.

The same Greek obsession with mere intellect led to a totally un-Christian disparagement of the flesh and of ordinary human society : focussed on sex as an instinct to be repressed, instead of being made in true marriage manifestly Divine : thereby lowered the valuation of the Family wherein Jesus taught us to see the best earthly type of the Kingdom of God. This asceticism prevented the Evangelic Realm from assimilating the best elements of civic service and civic spirit in what may be called (in no Protestant sense) Romanism, and left it mainly a corruptive influence.

The Imperial autocracy of Rome, though but a despotism of the sword—the very negation therefore of the Christian idea of the supremacy of service—was not merely accepted by the Christian community ;

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it was hailed with jubilation as an arrangement evidently Divine. This apostasy to absolutism has checked and sometimes destroyed, even down to the present day, the growth of genuine endeavours to embody the Christian ideal. Worse still, the Roman absolutism has been imitated in the Church and has received its most logical, but happily least sanguinary, expression in our time. The Stoic individualism of Roman lawyers has fallen like a blight, right down the generations, on those forms of communal life which are akin to the Christian spirit and might be developed into fuller accord with it.

Hellenized and Romanized Christianity having, in the words of Tertullian, "castigated and castrated" the Roman world, the Empire collapsed; and after a chaos of unutterable human suffering, the stream of Christian life was further obstructed by that barbaric worship of brute force which became organized in Feudalism. This system, based on the robbery and torture of the lowest down, was the uttermost contradiction of the Christian law; yet the Christian community, though a corrective and solvent, was yet an integral part of it. Even to the present time, feudal influences have been among the strongest hindrances to the realization of the social purpose of the Christ. Feudal ideas still tincture Christian theology.

And as Feudalism was absorbed into separate nations, however vast was the step forward out of the morass of brute force towards a more stable and

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moral basis of society, yet Nationalism in its turn has proved one of the most formidable barriers to the advance of the world-community of the Kingdom of God. It shattered the ecumenical effort of the Crusades. It suffered the Turk to ravage and oppress for long generations large sections of Christendom. It reduced the Empire to an Austrian province. Its narrowing spirit appeared in the Italianism of the Papacy, which by a natural reaction broke up the Church Universal into a litter of National Churches.

Side by side with these deflections—Mediterranean, metaphysical, mediæval and transient—was at work in every age, perversive and polluting, the influence which Jesus pilloried for all time as the abiding rival to God—Mammon. It was the love of filthy lucre which led Judas to sell his Master, which made simony the pest of the Middle Ages, which lured the traders of the Mediterranean to betray the Crusades, which made the clergy generally exactors loathed by the common people, and which transformed the Papacy itself into one vast machine of extortion and corruption.

Fifteen centuries of restricted achievement, of thwarted hopes, of retarded progress, nay, of failure on the large scale, might have made clear to later Christian wisdom these chief opposing factors. It remains to be seen how far the four centuries which follow have profited by the chequered experience which preceded them.

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“By their fruits shall ye know them.” Conduct is the test of life. And the state of morals at the close of fifteen centuries is the surest condemnation of the curious amalgam of so-called Christianity which had produced it. Pastors are supposed to be “ensamples to the flock.” Yet men trained in times of more exacting standards find it hard to credit the depth and prevalence of clerical profligacy disclosed towards the dawn of the New Era. A synod at Rouen in 1445 had to condemn prelates for not merely allowing their priests to live in open concubinage, but for actually deriving revenue from a concubine tax. In Germany bishops drew an income from the same illicit source. Luther spoke in terms of the utmost pity of priests with concubine and children and yet not allowed to marry, she being called a harlot and they bastards. In Switzerland, says Dr. Lindsay, “the so-called clerical marriages were universal.” The offence “was condoned by a fine paid to the Bishop.” Even Zwingli in his reformed days was guilty of this irregular alliance. In England Cardinal Wolsey not only had a daughter, but advertised his shame to the world by making her Abbess of Salisbury.

At Rome Burchard's diary informs us that the public marriage of the daughters of Popes Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. set the fashion which priests followed of having children, “for all, from the highest to the lowest, kept concubines.” Dr. R. James relates in the Cambridge Modern History that there were in Rome in 1490 as many as six

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thousand "public women." The population was 100,000 ; of whom, let us say, two-thirds were adults, and one-third men : so that the proportion worked out at one courtesan to half a dozen men. Such were the vile results, even in the official capital of Christendom, which flowed from Manichean contempt of matter and flesh and consequent depreciation of the marriage tie. The laxity which led Pope Clement VII. to urge bigamy on Henry VIII. in preference to divorcing Catherine reappeared even in Luther and Melanchthon sanctioning Philip of Hesse's bigamy. The same corrupt atmosphere may account for Luther's lax notions on concubinage.

Yet the Church with all its corruptions had not failed to convey to the people some knowledge of the Founder and His laws. The illiteracy of the clergy disclosed by the visitation in Saxony (1525-1527) and the visitation in the diocese of Gloucester (1551), seems indeed to have been appalling. Out of 311 Gloucester clergymen, only fifty could answer correctly the simplest questions about the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Nevertheless the cathedral schools were free to all who would come and be taught. Church synods urged that every Christian child be taught at least the Paternoster and the Apostles' Creed. The Church by its mystics did much to develop popular education. It placed copies of the Bible, even in translations, within reach of many. Its friars scat-

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tered through the populace some notion of the Galilean Message. Luther tells how he, a miner's child, was taught the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and some simple hymns. The Church thus supplied the armoury whence its foes drew their keenest weapons. Rebels against State and Church appealed to the Gospel. There was diffused throughout the commonalty of Europe a sort of penumbra of Christian knowledge. And widespread through Christendom was a lay religion that recked not of priests, but thought the more of the Christ and His will in the civic sphere.

This suffused salt of the Kingdom asserted itself in vigorous reaction against the putrescent elements of the time. The first half of the sixteenth century saw the conscience of Christendom in revolt. That was the meaning behind Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Augsburg Confession and the Council of Trent. It came to Luther as the faith that freed : to Calvin as submission to the sovereignty of God ; to Loyola as drill of the soul into automatic obedience to God and His subalterns. They had no doubt Whence the initiative came. They bore witness to the direct impact of the Unseen. "God took pity on me," said Luther, "and gave me understanding" to see that "the righteous lives by his faith." "By a sudden conversion," said Calvin, "He subdued my heart to docility." And in oft-repeated visions, Loyola was made sure of his Divine vocation.

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It is only fair to recall that the first serious attempt at Reform on a national scale was made within the Catholic Church and in devoted loyalty to the Pope. The reform was initiated by a Woman. The Nation was newly unified Spain. The woman was Queen Isabella. In the fervour of victorious nationalism the two Catholic monarchs secured from the Pope by the Concordat of 1482 virtual control of bishops, benefices and monasteries, and put the ecclesiastics in a position of general dependence on the Crown. The Queen was resolved on the reformation of the clergy, for which Cortes after Cortes had petitioned in vain.

Once more the influence of the Saint of Assisi came to assist in the repair of the Church. A Franciscan of poor family, by nomination of Cardinal Mendoza made father-confessor to the Queen, by her installed as Archbishop of Toledo, Francesco XIMENES by name, was her instrument of clerical purification. He was a true follower of St. Francis. Not only did he faithfully observe, in his lofty office as in his obscurity, the exacting ideals of the Saint ; he made them the standard of the Spanish clergy generally. In his Visitations he restored monastic discipline and established a pure priesthood. So, says Dr. Lindsay, " the Church in Spain secured a devoted clergy whose personal life was free from the reproaches justly levelled at the higher clergy of other lands." Ximenes dealt as fearlessly with the ignorance as with the vice of the priesthood. The

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hopelessly ignorant were dismissed from their cures. Special provision for teaching theology was made in new colleges and by the founding of three new universities. The exegesis of Scripture was carefully taught, the New Learning was welcomed and Erasmus was delighted. Side by side with these reforms, the Spanish Inquisition, under Dominican influence, became the terrible engine for enforcing political and ecclesiastical unity. The morals of the Spanish people as a whole are said to have remained very corrupt, but the purification and education of the clergy was a great achievement, and must, along with the Inquisition, have materially shaped the social character of Spain, as she was rising to be the dominant power in the Old World and in the New.

The conscience of Christendom, on the point of explosion, was made more intelligent and formidable by the work of ERASMUS (1466-1536). This brilliant literary genius was a native of Holland, born out of wedlock, but by training and travel and the vogue of his writings a European of the first celebrity. His satiric skill held up the defects of the clergy high and low to universal ridicule. His friendship and correspondence drew a large circle with him. But he was above all the religious exponent of the New Learning. His chief work was his edition of the Greek Testament. Herein he gave afresh to the world the personal standard of Christian conduct. From the recondite subtleties

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of mediæval theology and from the corruptions of the Church, he aimed at drawing men's minds back to Jesus Himself. In obedience to His plain teaching, Erasmus hoped to find the pathway to a reformed Christendom. The vision of Christ in the Gospels, and His authoritative Word there, would operate the change.

This "return to Christ" made the great scholar into a social reformer. A whole cycle of political revolution is implied in these sentences of his :

"It is the people who build cities while the madness of princes destroys them. Kings who are scarcely men are called 'Divine'; they are 'invincible' though they fly from every battlefield; 'serene' though they turn the world upside down in a storm of war; 'illustrious' though they grovel in ignorance of all that is noble; 'Catholic,' though they follow anything rather than Christ. Of all birds the Eagle alone has seemed to wise men the type of royalty, a bird neither beautiful nor musical; nor good for food, but murderous, greedy, hateful to all, the curse of all, and with its great powers of doing harm only surpassed by its desire to do it."

Here indeed is a savage echo of the amusement of Jesus over the domineering potentates of His day who "were supposed to rule" and called themselves "Benefactors."

Within the four years preceding Luther's publication of his Wittenberg *Theses*, appeared two books,

CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE IN REVOLT

one in Italy, the other in England, which have exerted an enormous influence, for good or for evil, upon the social thinking of Christendom. There could scarcely be found a sharper contrast than is offered by "The Prince" of MACHIAVELLI (1513) and the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas MORE (1516). Yet each reflects a different side of the same period. "The Prince" shows the current Statecraft and develops it into a system of politics entirely devoid of ethics. "Utopia" expresses the ideals of society, towards which Christendom had been aspiring, in a form that makes politics entirely subservient to ethics. One aims at heightening the autocratic position of the ruler : the other at securing the welfare of the common people.

Machiavelli thinks only in terms of force : how to augment the force of the Prince by the force of his army and by the force of his State. To obtain the greater power, the pledged word may be broken, treaties violated, fraud and treachery practised, possible rivals murdered without qualm, while, not to provoke the people to dangerous discontent, the semblance of morality and of religion must, as far as possible, be kept up. Two sentences reveal Machiavelli's estimate of social relations : "Whoever is the occasion of another's advancement is the cause of his own diminution" ; and "in the general men are ungrateful, inconstant, hypocritical, fearful of danger and covetous of gain." The ruler therefore should rely on fear rather than on love in his subjects.

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From the amalgam of the civilization of that day, "The Prince" carefully eliminates the Christian metal, leaving only the Pagan alloy ; and shows in lurid isolation what results from the traditions of Roman autocracy and the feudal idolatry of force. Omitting all disturbing ethical considerations, the book is said to have founded the abstract science of politics. It was the favourite manual of Thomas Cromwell. It sets out with cool cynicism those principles of *Realpolitik* which have ever since hindered the construction of a Christian Society, but only reached their fullest embodiment, and, let us hope, their most shattering refutation, exactly four hundred years afterwards, in the World War waged by Imperial Germany. Even Machiavelli might have stood aghast, could he have foreseen when he published "The Prince" in 1513, what would happen in Belgium in 1914. The one gleam of idealism in his book was what he shared with Rienzi and Mazzini—a passion to unify Italy and so save it from internecine feuds.

More's "Utopia," on the other hand, discarded the Pagan elements from the life of his time and offered what is in effect a text-book in Social Christianity. The author "doubted not that the authority of our Saviour Christ would have brought all the world long ago into the laws of this weale publique, if it were not that one only beast, the Princess and mother of all mischief, Pride, doth withstand and let it." In Utopia all things are common.

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Every one works till he is past work, when his old age is honourably provided for. The working day is nine hours long. The other hours are spent as each one pleases. There being no idlers, poverty is unknown ; all have abundance. Lack in one city is made up by surplus from another. There is no money. Gold is purposely put to the basest uses. There is no motive or desire or use for private accumulation. Marriage and the family are kept sacred. All children are educated in industry and letters. Great hospitals are provided for the sick. Incurable sufferers from agonizing disease are encouraged by the authorities to put an end to themselves. All are properly housed. The streets are broad. Magistrates and priests are elected by the secret vote of the people. Women are eligible for both offices. " They have priests of exceeding holiness and therefore very few." Crime is punished by bondage in the hardest and most repellent kinds of labour. There is complete religious liberty. Only those who disbelieve in God and immortality are barred from office and citizenship, but are otherwise left unmolested. When death approaches, people are expected and encouraged to die gladly, even merrily. Those who die reluctantly are dishonoured by burial instead of the usual cremation. The dead are believed to be with the living and aware of what they do ; for love is more, not less, after death. There are specially religious persons, some celibate and vegetarian, some married and meat-eaters, who spend ^{all} their

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time in hard work for others. Public worship is solemnly observed.

With this ideal picture goes a severe indictment of actual society : the clearances of farms and towns to find pasture for sheep ; the eviction of the poor ; the making of criminals ; the death-penalty for theft ; the miserable poverty of the many, the pampered superfluity of the few, idleness or unnecessary business rewarded by ease and plenty ; the work of the labourer, without which no commonwealth could last for a year, recompensed by a wretched life and a beggarly old age ; ordinary commonwealths being but a conspiracy of a few rich to get and keep for themselves what is due to the poor. If "The Prince" anticipated Bismarck and modern Prussianism, there are few social reforms since enacted which have not been anticipated in "Utopia." Yet its author—such is the irony and dissimulation of circumstance—was lord chancellor to a Tudor tyrant, a persecutor, and a martyr to his Papal loyalty.

§ 2. "*The Brethren*" and *Anabaptists*

"The Brethren" a Link between Middle and Modern Ages. Anabaptists : their Social Settlements. The Münster Experiment.

To many minds the stupendous changes which the beginning of the sixteenth century introduced into the religious arrangements of Europe appear as all but a complete break with the past. There is to their eyes an unbridged chasm. On one side

"THE BRETHREN" AND ANABAPTISTS

stands the Church of the Middle Ages. On the other side crowd the modern Churches, grouped loosely round the peak-personalities of Luther and Loyola. Many are the attempts made to cross the gulf. The Romanist points to the Papal succession. The Anglican trusts to Episcopal transmission. The Lutheran finds in his German princedoms the fragments still connecting him with the ecumenical authority of the Holy Roman Empire. These theories do not fall to be discussed here. But all the while there has been too generally overlooked a very real maintenance of the continuity of Christendom, more social than ecclesiastical, which the Reformation did not make or unmake ; an arch which springs out of the heart of the Middle Ages and reaches unbroken to the heart of modern times.

Far back in the thirteenth century we came on communities chiefly of working men, living mostly in the large towns, keeping in touch with each other all over Europe by visitors and correspondence, who called themselves simply "The Brethren." They were described by their persecutors as true to the faith, pure in life, schooling their children, kind to the poor and crippled, students of translated Scripture, members of praying circles, claiming to receive in Eucharist Wine as well as Bread, but with no use for priest and no regard for the authority of Church. Such were The Brethren, before Wiclif had renounced the Pope, or the Council condemned Huss. Such were The Brethren, while Luther was a devout

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monk and Calvin a loyal Catholic. Connective history there is none : but the recurring glimpses of The Brethren, with the persistency of their title, more than suggest a very real continuity. Not till 1524 did this anti-clerical connexion draw together as an organized community. Delegates met at the house of the great scholar, Balthasar Hübmaier, in Waldshut, and agreed on a common expression of their faith and polity. This is said to be closely akin to the later Confession of the Moravian Brethren. They adopted a sort of Presbyterian government by synods. This memorable gathering occurred in the year of the outbreak of the Peasants' War and at the very town where the first outbreak took place. In time these Brethren came to renounce infant baptism, for which they substituted the dedication of infants, and their practice of adult baptism led to their being called Anabaptists.

The ANABAPTISTS were no product of the Reformation. Dr. Lindsay declares, "The whole Anabaptist movement was mediæval to the core" ; its aim was "to reproduce in thought and life the intellectual beliefs and usages of the Primitive Church." They were much more a social than an ecclesiastical movement. Their chief, HÜBMAIER, gave an intensely social turn to the Eucharist. He wrote, "In baptism one pledges oneself to God, in the Supper to his neighbour, to offer body and blood in his stead, as Christ for us." Many of them re-

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pudiated both war and the taxes spent on war. They would have no connection between Church and State. To them belongs the undying honour of being the first religious community in modern times to demand for all as well as for themselves complete religious liberty. They were frightfully persecuted : in both Catholic and Protestant countries, Anabaptism was a capital offence ; but their industrial efficiency induced several local magnates to spare them. In Moravia by 1536 the Anabaptists had developed eighty-six settlements, numbering mostly 100 persons each, but sometimes as many as 2,000. These settlements formed a striking social experiment which is thus described by Professor H. C. Vedder :*

“ The unit of all these communities was the ‘ household,’ consisting in most cases of several hundred souls, all occupying a common building. Over each of these groups was a general superintendent—‘ Householder.’ The community idea was carried into all the details of living : the household had a common kitchen, a common bakehouse, a common brewhouse, a common school house, a common lying-in room, a common nursery, a common sick-room ; and an order of ‘ Sisters ’ were nurses of the children and the sick. There was also a common dining-room ; but in other respects each family lived its own separate life. Clothing and bed-linen and such personal effects were treated as individual property ; all else was owned in common. Economically, the experiment was successful. There

* *Balthasar Hübmaier* (1905), pp. 251 ff.

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were no drones allowed in this busy hive, and there was no poverty. The socialistic ideal, of equal effort and equal sharing by all in the fruits of labour, was fully realized. The communities were without exception prosperous, not to say rich. Primarily these communities were agricultural. Ecclesiastically, they had a chief pastor or bishop. . . . But in proportion as the community prospered, the spirit of real brotherly love declined. . . . The downfall began in 1535."

How much more attention is often paid to theories than to facts! Every one has heard of Fourier's fantastic Phalansteries: only a few know of these solid and successful "Households" of the Anabaptists. However shortlived they may have been, they gave precedent to the communities of the later Moravian Church, with all their far-reaching consequences. When "The Brethren" emerge out of the darkness of the Middle Ages, and become an organized connexion, they appear as a group of economic brotherhoods. "Sympathy for the down-trodden, toiling masses of the community," says Dr. Lindsay, "was a permanent note in all Anabaptist teaching." They may be hailed as forerunners of the Labour Movement in Religion. They contributed much to the development of Social Christianity.

They were, as has been said, especially strong among the artisans. The large towns consequently became the chief centres of their influence. Strasbourg was described by one of their noted leaders as

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“the crown of all Christian cities and churches.” But the place most notorious for its Anabaptist record was the city of MÜNSTER. Bernhard Rothmann, great preacher and great saint, won over to Anabaptism the workers, the gilds, and finally the municipality itself. Two Dutchmen headed this change. One, Jan Matthys, soon fell by the hand of the enemy. The other, Jan Bockelson, became King. The city had come to be the asylum for Anabaptist refugees from all quarters, especially from the Netherlands. And the unhappy experience of Münster has most unjustly laid the whole movement under aspersions of compulsory communism and, still worse, of polygamy. The city, it must be remembered, was in a state of siege. It was closely shut in by the troops of its infuriated Bishop. Voluntary communism was a common article of faith among Anabaptists and in the early stages of the siege was nobly exemplified. But under pressure of the siege, as often happens in beleaguered cities, compulsory communism had to be established. Thereby the Anabaptists no more became compulsory communists than did the Englishmen who submitted to compulsory rationing during the World-War. Polygamy was introduced by Jan Bockelson. Whatever his motive, one of his pleas was that in this besieged city women numbered more than 5,000 to some 1,700 men. He won over the preachers, and the preachers won over the people. But this lamentable lapse, soon to be expiated in

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torture and massacre, far less identifies Anabaptism with polygamy than Luther and Melanchthon's approval of the second marriage of Philip of Hesse identifies Lutheranism with bigamy.

The Swiss Anabaptists sprang from the Waldenses and were a distinct community long before Zwingli came to Zürich in 1519. As "The Brethren" they urged on the Zürich Council that a Church should be free from State control and from State support. Rather than submit to civil sway, they suffered at the hands of the Zwinglians death by drowning.

The continuity of "The Brethren" in the Anabaptist development was carried on by MENNO SIMONS (1492-1559). A priest converted from Romanism by a close study of the New Testament, he was ordained a minister and went about Europe, linking up the scattered Anabaptist groups, dissuading them from the wilder tendencies, and instilling into them freedom from State control; refusal of oaths, military service and magistracy; personal conversion and adult baptism. "Sermons were without texts." "From his labours," says Dr. Lindsay, "have come all the modern Baptist churches." As these now number well-nigh nine million members (or, say, thirty million adherents), Menno's spiritual parentage has been prolific, and the continuity of "The Brethren" has been nobly carried on into modern times.

Another line of "The Brethren" came through those Hussites who would not submit to the National

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Church of Bohemia as the Pope approved it in 1433. They formed local groups under the leadership of Peter of Chelcic ; were known as “ The Brethren of Chelcic ” ; and left the State Church for the original teaching of Jesus and His apostles. The Archbishop of Prague became one of them and induced the king to allow them to settle in a deserted village in Senftenberg (1458). They called themselves the communion of brethren, or later *Unitas Fratrum*. Their creed was simple. The Bible was their only standard. Their morals were kept under stern supervision. They held by infant baptism and confirmation. With a polity in the main Presbyterian, they retained Bishops. They became very numerous in Bohemia and in Poland. As will be seen later, after a century's eclipse, they revived under Zinzendorf at Herrnhut and mightily influenced through Wesley the Methodist movement.

§ 3. *Martin Luther*

His Social Teaching. His Public Reforms. His Economic Views. The Peasants' War.

LUTHER discovered afresh for himself the Pauline meaning of justification by faith alone. Armed with this experience, he attacked the abuse of Papal indulgences. So he fired the mine, which had been long in charging, of popular resentment against clerical corruptions. The explosion shattered Christendom into fragments. The social consequences were tremendous.

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In Luther appeared the religious side of that individualism which was an intellectual sequel of the Renaissance and was already on the ascendant in the economic sphere. The essence of the religious life was to Luther subjective. It was the response of the soul to the offer of Divine Grace in Jesus Christ. It was no mere intellectual assent to certain statements. It was a mystical process which brought the soul into unity with Christ and wedded it to Him, so that He took over all its burden of sin and punishment, and it acquired His worth and righteousness.

By this inward transaction, "a Christian man is a most free lord of all things and subject to no one"; he is also "a most dutiful servant of all things and subject to every one." "By faith he is free from all and in perfect freedom does gratuitously all that he does." And gratitude to the Father for these inestimable riches impels him "freely, gladly, with a whole heart and eager devotion" to "do all that will be pleasing and acceptable in His sight." So he vows, "I will therefore give myself as a sort of Christ to my neighbour, as Christ has given Himself to me." "By this rule it behoves us to pour out each upon other, to make common each unto other, the goods which we have received, and that every man clothe himself with his neighbour's estate, and apply himself to his neighbour's necessities, even as if we were in like necessity ourselves." "A Christian man does not live in himself but in Christ and in his neighbour: to be a Christian man is to

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dwell in Christ by faith and in his neighbour by love."

This is indubitably social teaching : the emancipated soul is freely to find itself in its neighbour ; and men so freed are to become " mutual Christs." But such social interfusion is only the spontaneous overflow of the free soul's gratitude for the Divine forgiveness. Where Luther's own poignant sense of sin prevails, with the glad rebound of his soul into the certainty of forgiveness, appropriate Christian conduct may be expected. Where feelings of condemnation and of release are less acute—that is, with the great majority of men—gratitude alone is apt to prove an insufficient motive ; and " Solafidian " laxity tends to appear. For the regular conduct of life, a motive less exclusively emotional and more enduring is required. This is supplied by the personal love which binds together Redeemer and redeemed ; which calls out in abiding devotion the whole personality of the believer. Luther's dying prayer is thus recorded by Melanchthon : " My heavenly Father, Eternal and Merciful God, Thou hast revealed unto me Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, Whom I have learned, Whom I have proclaimed to be my Lord, Whom I love and Whom I honour as my precious Saviour and Redeemer ; take Thou my soul unto Thyself." What is essential to the great Reformer in the hour of death is his personal love and loyalty to the personal Saviour.

What was perhaps in Luther's teaching of the

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most far-reaching social importance lay in his exaltation of the ordinary daily service of the layman to a level with the rank and worth of the most sacred ecclesiastical functions. "In whatever calling God has placed you," he said, "do not abandon it when you become a Christian. If you are a servant, a maid, a workman, a master, a housewife, a Mayor or a Prince, do whatever your position demands. It looks like a small thing when a maid cooks and cleans and does other housework. But even such a lowly employment must be praised as a service of God far surpassing the holiness and asceticism of all monks and nuns." By this teaching Luther is hailed as having broken down the partition between Church and World ; work in the world being pronounced equally sacred with the service of the Church. He went even further. Not content to say as Browning did, "All service ranks the same with God," he set the housemaid's work *above* "the holiness of all monks and nuns." Even his beloved St. Bernard he thus put below the kitchenmaid.

With all his exaggeration, Luther did an immense service to Social Christianity in vindicating the essential sacredness of so-called secular pursuits. He destroyed the arbitrary and mischievous distinction between ordinary lay life and "holy orders." Nevertheless there is a tendency in this teaching of Luther to flatten all Christian service down to the level of the commonplace, leaving scant margin for the exceptional or heroic. "Let the cobbler stick

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to his last ! ” is a good maxim within limits, but what if it had kept the shoemaker George Fox from founding the Society of Friends, or the shoemaker Carey from initiating the modern missionary movement ? To this tendency may be attributed the singular absence in Lutheran circles for well nigh two centuries of any effort to evangelize the heathen. In marked contrast appear the world-wide missionary activities of Loyola, Xavier and the Jesuit Fathers in general.

Again, Luther's stress on *Berufstreue* (fidelity to one's vocation) has doubtless fostered that intense specialism which has been attended with serious consequences in German life. By it a man feels himself shut up to his own expert calling ; and religion itself is regarded as a profession alongside of other professions.

Within the German State Luther was beyond all gainsaying a great public reformer. His Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520) was a momentous declaration of Social Christianity. In it he insisted that all relations with the Pope, financial, forensic, feudal, should cease ; that there should be no more pilgrimages to Rome, except under carefully guarded conditions, or to out-of-the-way shrines, which should be razed to the ground ; that the number of festivals should be reduced to Sunday and a few great feasts ; that no more houses should be built for the mendicant orders, but that existing mendicants should be massed together in ten

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or more houses where they could be kept without begging. It is in respect of mendicancy in general that this manifesto was most sweeping in its counsels and most far-spread in its effects. "One of the greatest needs," he said, "is that all begging be done away in all Christendom. No one ought ever to go begging among Christians. Every town ought to support its own poor, and if it be too small, it ought to appeal to the surrounding villages. There must be an Overseer or Guardian who knows all the poor, and when he find it necessary, he should appeal to the town council or clergyman or the best source available. To my reckoning there is no business in which there is so much knavery and roguery as in begging. It is not fitting that one man goes idle on another's work or lives well at the expense of another. There is no one ordered by God to live on other people's goods except only the preaching and the ruling priests." One wonders whether the "Christian Nobility" or even Luther himself perceived the revolutionary significance of this principle. But the peasants did, as will appear shortly.

Luther went on to urge that the Universities needed "a good strong reformation" and especially a riddance of Aristotle and of all others who boast of merely natural things—"damned, supercilious, cunning heathen, who lead so many of our best Christians astray"! Luther further demanded a common law, approved by the German Nation,

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against the excessive extravagance in dress which impoverished the nobility and the rich. Had not God given them in Germany enough wool, fur, flax, and everything needed for the honourable dress of every rank, that they should lavish treasure on silk, satin and gold pieces? Foreign trade he regarded as an impoverishment of Germany. The great Address ends with the searching question, "Is it not a lamentable thing that we Christians keep amongst us free, common houses of ill-fame (*frawenheussen*) although we are baptized to chastity?"

Luther showed himself concerned about the great fortunes made by money-lenders. "How is it possible," he exclaimed, "that in a single man's lifetime such great and kingly wealth can be collected together if all be done rightly and according to God's will? I am not skilled in accounts, but I do not understand how a hundred gulden can gain twenty in a year, and that not from soil or cattle." He found the greatest misfortune of Germany in the custom of mortgaging property. He issued a book in 1524 on Trade and Usury, in which he stigmatized international trade as one of the worst of evils, and went on to denounce what we now know as monopolies, corners, trusts, buying and selling on margins. In 1539 he begged the Elector to reduce by law the swollen prices prevailing in Wittenberg. His economic vision was obviously limited. He looked to government to redress all these undoubted economic grievances. But it was the government

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of the reigning princes ; it was “ the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.”

Luther's influence, especially after his denunciation of the insurgent peasants, tended to increase the power of the Princes and to depress the power of the people. When the Reformation resulted in the compromise of making the Prince arbiter of his subjects' religion and of installing him in Lutheran lands as *summus episcopus*, a religious dignity was given to the claims of monarchic absolutism, as later ages found to their cost. In vivid contrast shone the public spirit of the nations which came under the influence of Calvin, their struggles and achievements for popular freedom, and their victorious resistance to absolutism. Luther's prime concern was with the salvation of the individual which could be secured under any government, even under the most revolting tyranny : Calvin's was with the Sovereignty of God which could brook no earthly rival.

Besides consecrating the secular, restricting beggary, encouraging industry, and substituting marriage for clerical concubinage, Luther rendered perhaps his greatest social service in the promotion of EDUCATION. From the first he demanded schools for the people (as in his letter to the municipalities, 1524), a trained ministry for the Church, and improved universities. It is largely due to Luther's influence that Germany has become the best instructed nation on the face of the earth—with

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important consequences for the whole of human society.

Luther's intense subjectivity, his inwardmindedness, his emphasis on inner faith and feeling, have enabled Germany to give to the world the deepest music of the soul, and the most profound philosophy. Luther's own love of song and his insistence on music as part of school training, helped to make the Germans a singing people. The social progress of Christendom would have been immeasurably poorer if bereft of German music ; and Sociology, though the word was minted in France, owes in its essence unutterably much to German thought.

Yet the same deep subjectivity of Luther has inflicted on Social Christianity one of the gravest disasters. It has too generally caused Christianity to be identified with religious individualism. Thinkers so far apart as Mazzini and Frederic Harrison have actually conceived Christianity as concerned solely with the individual. Protestantism was to Mazzini "a solemn manifestation of the *individual* man—sole object and aim of Christianity." For "Christianity is the religion of the individual ; it knows nothing of Association." Luther certainly found place for the Church as "the company of people who believe in Christ" and recognized "the Christendom wherein God daily forgives us." But both Church and ecumenical unity seem to sink into the background behind the all-important drama of the individual soul.

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The crucial test of Luther's social vision came with the outbreak of the Peasants' War. The encroachments of the landlords on the rights of the country folk and the unhappy condition of the town-workers had become so grievous as to compel revolt. The demands of the insurgents were reasonable and moderate. They asked for the restoration of the rights which had been filched from them—of fishing, of hunting, of the use of common lands. They were willing to pay the tithes of their crops for the support of their pastors and of the poor ; but they declined to pay the vexatious tithes on poultry, eggs and the like, as well as the death duties levied by the landlord. The peasants demanded the right of electing their own pastors, and the town-workers claimed to be represented on the town councils. Luther expressed approval of most of their demands. But when they resorted to force of arms against his beloved Princes, he turned furiously against them. There had been insurrections based on economic wrongs before the Reformation : but the ideas which Luther had flung far and wide of human equality must have added to the ferment. The Swiss had risen in like revolt and had won their freedom from exacting feudal lords.

But the landlords' oppression by force, Luther would only allow to be met by moral suasion, never by forcible resistance. And these very plunderers of the poor he incited with fierce vehemence to put down the revolt by wholesale murder. With

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scarcely an exception the insurgents abstained from excesses. But more than a hundred thousand peasants were butchered by the nobles, and the people were plunged into more abject servitude than before. Luther was blamed for the rising: Lutheran pastors were slaughtered with the peasants in Alsace; and many landed magnates, previously undecided, now decided against the Reformation. Luther himself lost faith in the people. And for thus ruthlessly siding with the oppressors, he stands for ever condemned. He inflicted an inexpiable blow on Protestantism, on Germany, and, worst of all, on Social Christianity.

§ 4. *Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin*

Social Value of the Town. Zwingli in Zürich. Bucer in Strasbourg. Geneva and CALVIN: his "Institutes"; their Social Teaching.

The changes which Luther initiated were wrought out and fought out in what was then the largest and most historic setting in the world. They were staged in the Empire. They were outlined on the broad canvas of the Imperial Diet; and the same imperial sounding board sent the notes of Luther's message reverberating everywhere. But the enduring constructive work of the Reformation in the social and political sphere found its principal organs in much smaller, narrower and more compact circles. The Empire as a whole did not respond to Luther; in the Princedoms which did respond, there was no striking transformation of the body politic. The

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new and most thorough exemplifications of Social Christianity appeared in the town, the canton, the small country.

The growth of the Town was, as we have seen, one of the most impressive and fruitful products of the later Middle Ages. In the town were combined in one civic whole, industry, commerce, art, religion and government. The Gilds became a decisive factor in the municipality. The town was a school of self-government, whether plutocratic or democratic. And there was a municipal supervision and control of individual conduct which savoured more of the family than of the State. The Mayor was not merely inspector of the quality and price of goods offered in the markets : he was often by virtue of his office guardian of every widow and orphan in the city. Whatever the nominal suzerainty of Prince or King or Emperor, the town did not fear to assert its autonomy. So the town offered the most valuable laboratory and apparatus for the social experiments which the New Age demanded.

When the ancient civilization was about to be submerged in the Barbarian inundation, the monastery was raised up, as we have seen, to be the social agency of preservation and reconstruction. So when the medieval world was in its turn to be shattered by a seismic profusion of changes, physical, intellectual, religious, the town was providentially prepared to be the nucleus of the new social transformation. Pre-eminently was this the case with the cities of Switzer-

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land, thanks to the freedom which Alpine heights and peasant valour had gained in the fourteenth century.

Huldreich ZWINGLI was born in 1484, at Wildhaus high in the Alps ; had his schooling at Wesen and Bern ; studied at the Universities of Vienna and Basel ; eagerly embraced the New Learning ; and at twenty-two became parish priest at Glarus. Though soiled in sex, like most of the Swiss priests, his conscience was revolted by the practice of Popes and others, in hiring Swiss troops to fight for them in Italy and elsewhere. He became the chief opponent of this mercenary system, yet for many years drew a pension from the Pope as chaplain to the mercenaries. He was from the earliest days steeped in Swiss patriotism, and continually thought out his ethics and religion in terms of public life. But what was to be his standard ? His friend Wytttenbach at Basel had urged on him the supreme authority of Scripture, but the pressure of custom and tradition was inevitably strong on him as priest.

He tells us how he came to a decision. While he was praying for guidance, there came the answer " Fool, dost not thou remember ' the Word of the Lord abideth for ever ' ? hold to this. And again ' Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away.' " The Unseen Authority had declared itself even to the stained soul. Zwingli had been given for his guidance what was termed the *formal* principle of the Sixteenth Century Refor-

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mation : this he proclaimed as he went to Einsiedeln in 1516,—“that the Word of God is the alone sure directory for faith and practice, and Christ is our only salvation,”—at least one year before Luther in his Wittenberg Theses had announced the *material* principle of the Reformation in justification by faith alone.

In 1519 Zwingli became people's preacher at the Minster in Zürich. Nominally an Imperial city, in the diocese of Constance, Zürich had gained a real independence on a democratic basis. It taxed and inspected ecclesiastical property as well as civil ; and this innovation was allowed by the Popes, who did not wish to alienate the source of their mercenaries. Zürich, it will be remembered, had sheltered Arnold of Brescia for a time from the implacable persecution of St. Bernard. This was a congenial centre for Zwingli. He began by expounding in a succession of sermons the Gospel of St. Matthew. He followed with expositions of the rest of the New Testament and of the Prophets. He insisted that tithes were voluntary, not compulsory, and actually defended the eating of meat in Lent.

The Great Council of the city refused to be intimidated by the Bishop of Constance. It followed up Zwingli's denunciation of the mercenary system by declining to give the Pope the hireling troops he asked for (1522). This was a bold and noble step towards the social realization of Gospel precepts. It meant a heavy pecuniary loss to the Zürichers ; it

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meant also rupture with the Papacy. Zwingli, who had previously renounced his Papal pension, could proudly say, "The sole cause of the abolition of mercenary service under foreign Princes, in the canton of Zürich, in town and country, was the Word of God." The Great Council, strong in its sense of civic independence, determined that the city itself, not Church or Pope, should decide on its own religious faith. At a series of public disputations, the city adopted Zwingli's positions : that the Word of God is the only rule of faith, to be accepted on its own authority, and not on the Church's : that Christ was our only Saviour ; and the city repudiated with him the Papal primacy, invocation of saints, merit, fasts, pilgrimages and purgatory. Clerical celibacy was made no longer binding ; the Mass was abolished ; the monasteries were dissolved, and Church property "mainly devoted to education." The whole of this social revolution had been effected in six years, thanks to the leadership of the great preacher and the courageous self-reliance of the democratic town. The city took its religious affairs into its own hands.

This municipal method was catching. The citizens of Basel demanded a Public Disputation ; and as a result, the council appointed a Reformer as town preacher. Bern, the most important city in the Confederacy, undeterred by the Emperor's remonstrance, held a Public Disputation (in 1528), attended by Zwingli and by the most eminent

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advocates of the new faith and of the old order ; and decided for the Reformation. Papal and French pensions, bound up with the mercenary system, were relinquished. The monasteries were dissolved ; out of the proceeds, the pensioners were compensated ; and the balance was appropriated to education. So rapidly and peacefully was effected, by the votes of the citizens, the momentous overturn. Bern became henceforth the strong defence of the Reformed faith in Switzerland.

The Romanist cantons tried by means of the Federal Diet to suppress the new teaching. In self-defence, Zwingli organized the " Christian Civic League " in which his far-sighted statesmanship would have enrolled all reformed cantons and cities in the Confederacy and in other parts of Europe. The Emperor Ferdinand started a counter-organization, " the Christian Union." Differences over the Eucharist which came to a head at the end of 1529 in the Marburg Colloquy between Luther and Zwingli, interfered with the prospects of the Civic League. In the second battle of Kappel, Zwingli was slain, and Zürich, defeated, was no longer able to lead as she had done.

STRASBOURG, a city ancient, imperial, free, was a notable embodiment of the civic spirit of Lutheranism. Luther's programme to the Christian Nobility was reprinted here in the same year as it appeared at Wittenberg. Matthew Zell, native of

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Alsace, priest at the Cathedral since 1518, was foremost in the introduction of the Reformation into Strasbourg and gradually won over the city to his views. It was an Imperial city, and an Episcopal see ; but without regard to Bishop or Emperor, the city authorities decreed that henceforth preachers should preach nothing else but "the holy Gospel and the teaching of God and what serves to the increase of the love of God and of one's neighbour." The city here, as in Zürich and in Bern, took its religion into its own hands. But Strasbourg showed a more tolerant temper and a more zealous philanthropy.

The laity first were active in securing a municipal decree to prohibit begging and to provide for the poor so that there should be no need for begging. They succeeded so well that in fourteen years they had induced all the able-bodied poor to work and earn their living ; and out of 30,000 inhabitants only 200 poor remained who by reason of incapacity of various kinds had to receive public assistance. But Strasbourg had much more than its own poor to support. It became a city of refuge to persecuted Protestants from France, Lorraine and Germany. It even welcomed Anabaptists. Those who escaped from the massacres with which Luther's Princes ended the Peasants' War, found, with their wives and children, humane harbour in this Lutheran city.

Catharine Zell, daughter of an artisan, wife of the reformer, a woman of exceptional ability and courage,

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proved herself in this emergency, and throughout, one of the heroines of the Reformation. She arranged food and shelter for 2,000 women and children, refugees, taking some into her own house and persuading others to do likewise. Difficulties were made acute by a famine in 1529. But Strasbourg contrived to support its own poor and the great crowd of fugitives : it used Church funds and conventual funds for the purpose. Thrice every week the authorities went round from house to house, collecting money and clothes and bread. The secret of this relief of the poor and of this munificent civic hospitality is given in the reply of the authorities to the Emperor's demand that they should justify these reforms : " A living faith must show itself in works of charity." The laity, men and women, did the work : the reformed preachers fired the people's zeal.

Strasbourg believed that man did not live by bread alone ; it opened primary schools ; subsidized schools for the children of refugees ; went on to establish secondary and higher education ; developed in time a University.

The same religious spirit which promoted education appeared in measures against the profiteers who during the famine tried to exploit the public misery for their own gain : in the suppression of houses of ill-fame ; in edicts against games of hazard, against the abuse of alcohol, and against prostitution. A noted refugee, after sojourning within its walls,

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declared Strasbourg to be "the crown of Christian cities and churches." It was certainly an eminent achievement in Social Christianity.

The soul of Strasbourg was for 25 years (1523-1549) Martin BUCER. Born in Alsace, a Dominican monk, he was convinced by the writings of Erasmus and Luther, married a nun, and in the year of his excommunication settled in Strasbourg. He was the inspirer of Calvin ; gave him some of his most distinctive ideas, of worship, sacrament, predestination, as also of a church modelled after the primitive Church, independent of the State and dominating it by the Word. In his civic practice in Strasbourg as in his lectures in England, where he died, Bucer showed himself a Social Christian of the most pronounced type.

He laid heavy stress on the duty of work, as against the fashionable idleness of the upper classes and the "contemplative" life of the cloister. Trade he allowed, if pursued for the public good : only those should be permitted to trade who were certified by the masters under whom they had served to put the public welfare before private gain and to consider their vocation a social function. No one should be tolerated in the Church or in a Christian republic who preferred private profit to social gain. Whoever showed that he desired to deceive and defraud his fellows might be a man in shape, but was really a ravening beast. Individual rights should be limited by the collective interest. Society

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ought to be so organized that every one should find in it work, and find pleasure in his work. Vast waste domains should be turned into corn-growing or pasture land. Great estates should be broken up into small farms with rents not too high. Natural right demanded that there should be accorded to every living soul the right to work—useful, not harmful work. Criminals should be taken from enforced idleness, and made to work in mines and elsewhere for the public good. Bucer, in his plea for social education, demanded schools for boys and girls, without distinction of class, who, after careful instruction, should each be trained to a specific calling, the more promising to go on to higher studies and to receive their keep, if not from their parents, then from the Church. Sports he approved of, as contributing to health of body and mind. Such were some of his conceptions of “the Kingdom of Christ.”

The supreme instance of social transformation, effected by civic means, was afforded in GENEVA. At the beginning of the sixteenth century few cities seemed more unlikely than Geneva to become what it became. The city was outside of the Swiss Confederacy. Of old, it was under the triple control of the Prince-Bishop of Geneva, of the viceroy of the Duke of Savoy, and of the citizens. Since 1444 the Bishop had been nominee or member of the House of Savoy ; and the citizens' rights had

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been much restricted. The morals of the city were in a grievous state. Romanists attest that prelates and lower clergy alike lived in open profligacy: even the nuns, with few exceptions, led scandalous lives. A Reformed preacher, as late as 1538, described Geneva as "a realm of tipplers" and "a town governed by drunkards." Gradually this corrupt mass began to be leavened with the new ferment. Luther's writings were read in it in 1521. The Eidguenots (Eidgenossen, Huguenots, a term then political, not religious) began to press for the restoration of the political rights of the burgesses, and when the forces of Savoy were marching to crush the incipient rising, Bern and Freiburg interposed. As allies of Geneva, they wrung from the defeated Savoyards in 1530 a freer constitution for the city.

In 1532 came the fiery pioneer of the Reformed faith, William FAREL, but he was promptly ejected by the civic authorities. He came again in the end of the next year, as "servant" of Bern. After less than two years of preachings interlarded with Romanist riots, a Public Disputation led to the city officially adopting the Reformation. The Edict of adoption also established the principle of "compulsory and gratuitous education for all the children of the community." The forces sent by the Prince-Bishop and the Duke of Savoy melted away before the resolute advance of Bern. In August, 1536, Geneva attained, under the protection of Bern, complete republican independence. And at that

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very time happened to arrive, on an intended visit to Italy, the man who was destined to make Geneva, according to his ideas, a civic embodiment of the Kingdom of God.

John CALVIN, born in 1509, son of a well-to-do Picard lawyer, was early made a priest, went to college in Paris, and on his father becoming excommunicated, took to the study of law. His conversion from "the superstitions of the Papacy" occurred, as he tells us, suddenly by the direct act of God—probably about 1533, when he was 24. Within three years of that time, a fugitive in Basel from French persecution, he had written and published the first edition of his "Christian Institutes," an exposition, under the successive clauses of the Apostles' Creed, of what Protestants believed. This great book, written as an apology for Protestantism and as a text-book for divinity students, became through its frequent editions the standard in all countries of the Reformed faith. It was one of the most potent books ever written. Concerned chiefly with high theological doctrine, it has yet its own social teaching.

"Every one should consider that, however great he is, he owes himself to his neighbours, and that the only limit to his beneficence is the failure of his means, the extent of which should regulate that of his charity." This is the very antipodes of the individualism which has been attributed to the Reformation. We have to render our account to

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“Him who highly commends abstinence, sobriety, frugality and moderation, and abominates luxury, pride, ostentation and vanity.” Fidelity to vocation is solemnly enforced : “ the Lord enjoins every one of us, in all the actions of life, to have respect to our calling. Lest all things should be thrown into confusion by our folly and rashness, He has assigned distinct duties to each in the different modes of life.”

The Kingdom of God is thus described : “ God reigns when men in denial of themselves, and contempt of the world and their earthly life, devote themselves to righteousness and aspire to Heaven.” There is this distinction drawn between the spiritual and internal Kingdom of Christ, and civil government : “ The former in some measure begins the Heavenly Kingdom in us, even now upon earth, and in this mortal and evanescent life commences immortal and incorruptible blessedness ; while to the latter it is assigned, so long as we live among men, to foster and maintain the external worship of God, to defend sound doctrine and the condition of the Church, to adapt our conduct to human society, to form our manners to civil justice, to conciliate us to each other, to cherish common peace and tranquillity.”

Such was Calvin's notion of civil government. Its primary concern is with worship, creed, Church : only in the second place come civil justice and concord. Nor was there wanting a large charity

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essential to a genuine Christian society. To the secret judgment of God—Calvin quotes the words of Augustine—“there are very many sheep without, and very many wolves within” the fold. “Wherever we see the Word of God sincerely preached and heard, wherever we see the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, there, we cannot have any doubt that the Church of God has some existence. . . . While we are unwilling simply to concede the name of Church to the Papists, we do not deny there are churches among them.” Here Calvin was more broad-minded than many Calvinists have been.

Such were some phases of the message which the young Frenchman had given to the world. He purposed for himself a literary and studious career in the seclusion of Strasbourg University. But Providence was otherwise minded. Calvin's work was to be not merely in the making of books, but far more in the making of States. His message was to find expression in a community, and through it in many other communities. Farel found him on his chance visit to Geneva, insisted that he must remain to carry on the work of the Reformation, and threatened him with the curse of God on all his studies if he refused. “By this imprecation,” said Calvin, “I was so stricken with terror that I desisted from the journey which I had undertaken.” So he remained and settled down to his life work. The forces of reaction gained the upper hand in two years’

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time and banished him. He was recalled after two more years and returned very reluctantly from his church and studies in Strasbourg. Again he had been "terrified by the thunders" of Farel, backed by the persuasions of his Lutheran friends, into taking up the work for which he had a dread and a loathing, and a fear that he was not fit. There were traits of diffidence, even of timidity, which come to us with a refreshing surprise in the character of the great world-soul.

But, whatever his misgivings then, there can be no doubt about the work he achieved. In 23 years, working without intermission right up to his death, he made Geneva the model city of Reformed Europe. He availed himself of the system of civic discipline which was characteristic of the town-community and used it to enforce his spiritual ideals. "The citizens of every mediæval town," says Dr. Lindsay, "lived under a municipal discipline which we would pronounce to be vexatious and despotic. Every instance quoted by modern historians to prove, as they think, Calvin's despotic interference with the details of private life can be paralleled by reference to the police books of mediæval towns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." And, be it remembered, he was no rigid Sabbatarian. He deliberately played bowls on a Sunday afternoon, to vindicate in the eyes of his disciples their Christian freedom. Servetus was burned in pursuance of a law that dated back to the Emperor Theodosius, with Calvin's full

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consent : that was "an error of his age." Calvin would doubtless have turned the discipline from a municipal to an ecclesiastical control ; but he had to concede the ultimate authority to the City Council. In all probability he did better service for the Kingdom of God by having to work through the civic authorities. He helped to make the Town Hall in many respects more of a Christian centre for modern life than the Cathedral.

To the commercial conscience Calvin did a great service by allowing within certain carefully guarded limits payments for the use of loans. Hebrew law and Canon Law had forbidden usury, but with the growth of commerce, distinctions had been made between usury and interest, which were fined down to the point that where there was risk, it was interest and allowed, but where there was no risk, it was usury and disallowed. Evasion of this restriction became frequent, as in the case of loans without risk to parties who lent again with risk. Asked to give his opinion, Calvin wrote : "Although I do not visit usuries with wholesale condemnation, I cannot give them my indiscriminate approbation : nor indeed do I approve that any one should make a business of money-lending. Usury for money may lawfully be taken only under the following conditions and not otherwise " ; not from men in need, or from men oppressed by calamity ; and " he who receives a loan should make at least as much for himself by his labour as he obtains who gives the loan."

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These conditions were frequently forgotten ; usury came to mean only excessive interest ; and the chief safeguard was supplied by the State fixing the highest rate of interest allowable. The age-long protest of the Church was needed and is still needed where the power to grant loans rests in the hands of a few. But Calvin and the Dutch Calvinists—the next great commercial people—undoubtedly made capital more fluid and more generally serviceable.

Dr. Lindsay thus sums up his civic record :

“ Calvin did three things for Geneva, all of which went far beyond its walls. He gave its Church a trained and tested ministry, its homes an educated people who could give a reason for their faith, and to the whole city an heroic soul which enabled the little town to stand forth as the Citadel and City of Refuge for the oppressed Protestants of Europe.”

John Knox described Geneva as “ the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on the earth since the days of the Apostles.” Calvin was a lawyer : he infused much of his legal training into his dogmatics ; his theology has been described as “ Stoicism done into Christianity.” But with every allowance for these and other defects Calvin was one of the greatest souls that ever lived.

And he was one of the most powerful exponents of Social Christianity. Through the embodiment of his teaching in the community of Geneva, he became the creator of Huguenot France, of Puritan England, of Holland, of Scotland, and of New England. The

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great democracies that dominate the Western world to-day owe their existence to John Calvin more than to any other single person.

These achievements are all the more wonderful by contrast with the visible agents. Geneva was but a small town with 13,000 inhabitants, and with 6,000 refugees from all parts. Calvin himself was by temperament drawn to the studious pursuits of an academic recluse. He "was a weak valetudinarian, who could only eat one meal a day, and suffered from distressing maladies." He was much hampered by poverty. He had to sell his books and take in boarders to keep his modest household going at Geneva. A foreign statesman, coming to see "the Pope of Protestantism" was amazed to find him in so humble a dwelling. But what was wanting in physique, estate, environment, was more than made up in the grandeur of the soul and in the vast Unseen Power that wrought through him. The creator of modern democracy was the conscious agent of Christ.

§ 5. *Changes in England*

Rise of the Middle Classes. Origin of the Poor Law. Wiclify. COLET, Pacifist and Educationalist. Dissolution of Monasteries.

IN ENGLAND the social changes of the sixteenth century were much more varied and extensive than can be summed up in the one phrase, the Reformation, if by that be meant only the putting of an English monarch in the place of an Italian Prince

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at the head of the Church in England. There were great economic readjustments. Wealthy merchants and comfortable craftsmen in the towns came to form with the well-to-do yeomen of the country the MIDDLE CLASS ; to be a real power in the State for more than three centuries, long after the yeomen had practically disappeared. Agriculture was largely transformed from tillage to pasturage : commons were extensively enclosed : there were wholesale evictions of cottagers. The huge host of landless and homeless men was further swollen by a horde of feudal retainers flung out of their old living by laws of Henry VII. Beggary and robbery were rife. In face of this widespread menace of poverty, both Church and charity had broken down. The third of the revenues of the Church which was designed for the poor had been quietly embezzled by the clergy. The tithe of monastic wealth which the Benedictine order assigned to the poor was only in part distributed, and that in the casual and harmful way of indiscriminate almsgiving at the convent doors.

So, before the dissolution of the monasteries, it was found necessary to take the relief of the poor out of clerical hands and entrust it to lay local authorities, such as the justices of the peace. The parish, now an administrative and not merely an ecclesiastical area, was made responsible for its own poor. By the Act of 1536, the justices had merely to enrol and classify the poor, to suppress begging, to utilize

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existing hospitals and organize local charity. When spontaneous charity was found to be insufficient, first vicar and churchwardens, and then the bishop, were turned upon parishioners who refused to contribute.

On these methods of "peaceful persuasion" failing, legal compulsion was resorted to, and by the Act of Elizabeth (1572), rates were levied by assessment on the parish. Those successive Poor Laws were thus the direct outcome of the Christian sentiment of the community on behalf of the poor, backed by considerations of public safety. They embodied the old Patristic principle that those who were "impotent" (or as we should say to-day the Unable) should be given the requisite subsistence and care, and that the able-bodied should be "set on work." The new features, under both Catholic and Protestant auspices, were the transfer of administration from clerical to lay hands, and the legal compulsion of the poor rate.

There was a deep religious ferment at work. Wiclify had never been wholly suppressed, as the frequent burning of Wiclifites sufficiently proved. The New Learning, with its demand for a return first to the Greek and then to the Hebrew Scriptures, was warmly welcomed in the Universities, in the Church and at Court. Erasmus was most cordially received at Cambridge. From the English Primate came some of the money which helped him to bring out his Greek Testament; and later the Dean

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of St. Paul's provided him with an annuity. This same dean was the chief representative in the English Church of that which found its European embodiment in Erasmus. John COLET, son of a Lord Mayor of London, trained in Oxford and in several universities on the Continent, came back to expound, first in Oxford, and then in London the Pauline Epistles and the Scriptures generally, in their proper grammatical sense. In Jesus and His teachings and in the Apostles' Creed he found all that was essential: the mediæval theologies he discarded as corruptions. Before Convocation, he denounced "the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy" as "the worst heresy of all."

Perhaps his boldest utterance was in St. Paul's, before King Henry VIII. and the troops that were going to fight the French, when he declared "an unjust peace is better than the justest war." He pointed out "how incompatible a thing it was that a man should have that brotherly love without which no one would see God, and yet bury his sword in his brother's heart." The King was in some apprehension lest the soldiers whom he was on the point of leading abroad, should feel their courage gone through this discourse. The King had a long talk with Colet, after which it was announced that "the King and he were at one upon all points save only that the King wished him to say at some other time, with clearer explanation, what he had already said with perfect truth that for Christians no war was a

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just one. And this was for the sake of the rough soldiers." This open repudiation of all war, endorsed by the King, seems like a landmark in the evolution of Pacifism.

In founding afresh St. Paul's School he began a great work for English education. He put at its head a lay grammarian, and made the Company of Mercers its trustees. It is said to be "the first instance of non-clerical management in education." To this initiative of Colet is directly traced the founding of the many Grammar schools which arose under Henry, Edward and Elizabeth, and which have educationally made the middle classes. A redoubtable Social Christian was he ; and a fit companion to Sir Thomas More.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries and the spoliation of the shrines were violent measures. The nation acquiesced in them, partly from subservience to a masterful monarch, partly from hope of sharing in the booty, but most of all, from the revulsion of the social conscience against the corruptions and absurdities then brought to light. The modern conscience revolts rather at the uses to which the alienated property was put. A vast proportion of the land of the country and fabulous wealth beside came into the hands of the Crown.

It was a great opportunity, the like of which has never, either before or since, fallen to the lot of any English monarch. But instead of being used for large national purposes, it was squandered and

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wasted. Much of the land was given or sold at a very low price to the new nobility which was arising and to Court favourites. In Henry and Edward's reigns, as many as 40,000 persons are said to have become proprietors of what was formerly Church property. The immense treasure melted like snow in the hot hands of the spendthrift King.

Some one has said that more grammar schools were founded towards the close of Henry's reign than had been founded in the three previous centuries ; but the fear has been expressed that these did not make up for the monastic schools which had been dissolved—that the opportunities for education were seriously diminished. The poor were deprived of the dubious boon of indiscriminate charity at the convent doors. The tenants would almost certainly find harder landlords. But this tremendous expropriation was far less a robbery of the poor than it was the extension and enrichment of a landed aristocracy : which was in the first instance a powerful buttress to Tudor despotism, and from that day to this a formidable obstacle to progress.

§ 6. *Scotland and Knox*

John Knox as Social Creator, Democrat and Educator.

Rarely has the power of the re-discovered Gospel to remake a nation been more strikingly or swiftly displayed than in the case of SCOTLAND. In civilization, according to Dr. Lindsay, four centuries behind

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the rest of Western Europe, the Scottish people sprang to the front in less than a generation. A heap of warring groups and clans, in which fierce and lawless nobles seemed to count for everything and the people to count for nothing, suddenly grew, under the grasp of a new faith and of a masterful personality, into a compact and ordered commonwealth. Wiclify had had its Scottish martyrs, there were many Scottish readers of Luther's works, but the decisive impact came from the Geneva of Calvin. That impact fell upon the people with the full force of one of the strongest wills that ever tenanted a human frame, and smote the jarring fragments into unity.

John KNOX (1515-1572) ranks among the greatest of social creators. Born in Haddingtonshire, possibly of peasant stock, he passed through school and college and became for three or four years a priest. Then he turned Protestant—how we know not—and was a companion of Wishart's up to the time of that martyr's death. Fleeing from a like fate, he found refuge in the Protestant garrison which held St. Andrews Castle. There, by a demand from the pulpit, which the congregation with emphasis endorsed, he was called to be a preacher of the Word. Bursting into tears, he retired to his room, but after days of "heaviness" accepted the vocation thus laid upon him. The garrison being forced to surrender to the besieging French, Knox served for nineteen months as a galley-slave. On liberation he came to England,

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preached at Berwick, Newcastle and London. The advent of "Bloody" Mary made him retreat to the Continent with his Northumbrian wife. He stayed in Frankfort, Dieppe, Zürich, but with greatest satisfaction in Geneva. Returning to Scotland, he preached in the great cities as well as in the Lowlands, tolerated or outlawed by the Court.

One of the most clear-sighted and far-sighted statesmen of the time, he was proof against the fascination of Mary Queen of Scots, and won over his country to a hearty co-operation with Elizabethan England. And in 1560 the Scottish Parliament formally adopted the Reformation as shaped by Knox. Only twenty-four years previously Calvin had first published his "Institutes," and had as it were stumbled into Geneva ; and now Calvinism, imported from Geneva, was the State religion of Scotland. So rapidly had the structure of creed and polity been erected, against which Stuart after Stuart, persecution after persecution, dashed themselves in vain, and against which the most insidious assaults of time through three centuries proved utterly futile.

And on the Scottish nation, raised by his burning utterances to a white heat of zeal, Knox stamped ineffaceably his own distinctive character. Seldom, if ever, has one personality left so deep and abiding an impress of itself on any people, least of all on so pugnacious and self-assertive and strong-willed a people as the Scots. Knox, it is true, transmitted the

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high voltage of Calvin, but his constructive force came from a far Higher Source. Hebraic he may have been too largely ; he even narrowed Calvin's strictness ; but with full heart he put his will at the service of his Lord. We could wish there had been less intolerance, more " meekness and gentleness," greater stress on obeying the law of love and less on keeping the Sabbath ; but Scotland abides, the enduring monument of a Divine achievement. Through the entirely surrendered will of John Knox, Jesus made of Scotland a new creation.

Two social results claim special notice. Presbyterianism made Scotland a real democracy. Whatever the political franchise might be, the people elected their ministers ; and the ministers had or claimed powers higher than those wielded by the State.

But the people, rightly to choose these agents of God, must not be left in ignorance. Knox and his coadjutors were resolved that the people should have education. Through ages of anarchy, from the old Celtic Church, Scotland had imbibed a love for school and college. But now was the opportunity for a great expansion of facilities for learning. There were the vast estates which had belonged to the Church. Knox wanted to turn them to account as endowments for a school in every parish, for a high school or college in every big town, and for the equipment of the Universities. But the Barons had seized the property and held on to it with the

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proverbial tenacity of the Scot. The ideal, however, remained. What the nobles refused, the people in time supplied. Knox wanted also compulsory attendance by law, and State selection of the most promising pupils for more advanced instruction. His aim was to provide an educated ministry and an educated people. The management of the schools along with the administration was put into the hands of the Church.

§ 7. *Holland and William the Silent*

The power of social reconstruction active in the religion of Jesus, when stripped in great measure of mediæval accretions, was signally manifested in the creation, as a nation, with a distinct genius and destiny, of the DUTCH people. From time immemorial, the sea, at once their foe and their friend, had taught them a patient tenacity of purpose and a deep love of freedom. In the sixteenth century, the iron faith of Calvin raised these qualities to the sublimity of heroism and to the certainty of victory. At the same time, it welded the rugged diversity of their several States and cities into a unity indestructible. Religious reform had crept in with Anabaptists, and had been greatly extended by Lutheran propaganda, but only as Calvinism became dominant. Only the sternest faith, deep-rooted in the unalterable decrees of the Omnipotent, could support the Dutch in their conflict with the overwhelming might of Spain.

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Spain was the strongest power in the world, supreme in Europe, owner of the Americas, mistress of the seas, possessed of treasure inexhaustible, and made terrible with an army unmatched in its discipline, in its record of victory, and in its fiendish cruelty. Behind this colossal world-power lay the spiritual terrors and forces of the Papacy. The whole formidable mass was directed by the most perfidious, relentless and remorseless bigot that ever held for more than a generation the sceptre of absolute power. Against such odds the little Netherlands, with all their wealth and trade and maritime enterprise, had, humanly speaking, not the slightest chance. But through their new faith there was infused into this small people a power from the Unseen that gave them the victory. The struggle at the outset was in defence of the old liberties which Spanish despotism was resolved to subvert. It soon deepened into a fight for the freedom of faith. The southern Netherlands, after Alva's seven years' rule of Hell, fell back into the arms of the Papacy. But after eighty years of war, and the endurance of the most frightful "devilries of Spain," the Seven United Provinces emerged free, independent, one of the Great Powers of Europe, and a home of liberty for the world.

Here, as in Scotland, the creative power of the Unseen was embodied in one man. Between the Haddingtonshire peasant, the plebeian priest, the lashed galley slave on the one side, and on the other,

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the wealthy Prince, high in Imperial favour, spending his youth in splendid extravagance and gay dissipation, there was at the outset the very widest contrast. But the deepest current of both lives swept through the same channel. WILLIAM the Silent (1533-1584) and John Knox were both made by Calvin's faith ; both knew themselves to be elect of God for the liberation of their peoples ; and through both thrilled the Unseen Power which created the nations. The turning point in William's life seems to have been the interview in Paris in which was casually disclosed to him the plot between the French and Spanish monarchs to kill out all their Protestant subjects. Just as Knox was attaining triumph in Scotland, William went back to his own country to begin the serious enterprise of his life. He was by training a Catholic, and undertook in 1561 that the Lutheran princess whom he married should "live Catholically." In 1566 when he quelled the threat of civil war in Antwerp, he called himself a Lutheran. He saw that only armed resistance would check Philip's subversive plans ; but as he could not persuade the nobles to take up arms, he retreated to his German estates. There he reduced himself to comparative poverty by raising at his own cost three armies for the invasion and liberation of the Netherlands. There is an indescribable daring in the act of this one man, out of his own resources, setting out to do battle with the foremost military power of the age. His attempts were

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foiled ; and his cause seemed lost. But for the next four years he never ceased, in spite of all rebuffs and disappointments, to renew the apparently hopeless struggle.

And in these years of exile he grounded himself more surely upon his deepest Base. He studied the New Testament more closely than ever, and became, as he avowed in 1573, a convinced Calvinist. His private letters vividly reveal his faith. To his wife Anna he wrote, " I have resolved to place myself in the hands of the Almighty that He may guide me whither it is His good pleasure that I should go. I see well enough that I am destined to pass this life in misery and labour, with which I am well content, since it thus pleases the Omnipotent." When the envoys of Philip's viceroy (1574) tried to bend him to their purpose by magnifying the power of their monarch, he made answer : " he knew his Majesty to be very mighty, but there was a King more powerful still—even God the Creator, who, as he humbly hoped, was upon his side." After five attempts had been made on his life, he showed no sign of fear. " God in His mercy," he said, " will maintain my innocence and my honour during my life and in future ages. As to my fortune and my life, I have dedicated both, long since, to His service. He will do therewith what pleases Him for His glory and my salvation."

His faith was verified in unexpected ways. The Sea-Beggars, driven out of English harbours in

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compliance with Spain's demands, seized Brill (1512), made the war amphibious, and through the demolished dykes rode victorious on the invading sea to the relief of Leiden (1574). It is characteristic of the religious temper of the people, that the first act of the famished Leideners, when the liberating ships arrived, was to crowd the Cathedral in thanksgiving service, and then to distribute the food. In 1581 William was put by Philip to the ban. The same year the United Provinces in a solemn Act of Abjuration renounced Philip's sovereignty and became an independent nation. The assassination of "the father of his country" in 1584 did not undo his work. At last in 1648 even Spain acknowledged the independence of the Dutch people. Holland rose to the height of her fame in almost every department of life.

The social significance of this act of creation is further shown by the freedom of conscience of which Holland became the home and harbour. The general amelioration of human society owes an immeasurable debt to the immunity which Holland provided for the world's thinkers who took refuge within her hospitable borders. It is enough to mention the Pilgrim Fathers, Descartes and Spinoza.

The Netherlands had already given many pioneers to the cause of education,—among the number, Gerard Groot, disciples of the mystic Ruysbroek, the Brethren of the Common Lot, Alexander Hegius and Erasmus. The new-born nation added much

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to this social boon. Leiden University arose, as a thankoffering for the marvellous raising of the siege. Four other Universities were founded before the final peace arrived. And the Presbyterian polity, learned from Calvin, carried with it democracy implicit, whatever the civil suffrage might be.

§ 8. *Scandinavian Changes*

IN SCANDINAVIA the Reformation was as much political and economic as it was religious, and had corresponding social reactions. The chief land-owners were prelates and nobles, and had secured immunity from taxation. They at once enfeebled the Crown above them, and trampled on the peasantry beneath them. Christian II., king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, resolved to lift the low and abase the high. To attain this end, he brought Lutheran preachers from Saxony; and aimed at putting Church and convent under the power of the Crown without liberty of appeal to Rome. After his defeat and exile, his successor Frederick encouraged the Reformation, now spreading among the people. Christian III., a devoted adherent of Luther, got council and national assembly to alienate all Church property to the Crown and to adopt the Lutheran religion. Norway and Iceland, with Denmark, submitted to the royal edict.

In Sweden, which had set up its independence under Gustavus Vasa as king (1523), two-thirds of the land belonged to the Church, and most of the

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rest to the nobles : both classes of owner refusing to pay taxes. To defray the loans contracted in the war of liberation, Gustavus could not exact more from the overtaxed peasants, and decided on acquiring Church property by introducing Lutheranism. Two sons of a blacksmith, Petri by name, after studying at Wittenberg, came back as Lutheran propagandists, and under royal patronage made great progress, translating at royal command Old and New Testaments into Swedish. Finally, in 1527, the king, by threat of resignation, induced the Diet to make over to the Crown almost the whole of the Church property, and officially to adopt the Lutheran Reformation. As on the first introduction of Christianity, so on the coming of Christianity reformed, Swedish soil was stained by no martyr's blood. But throughout Scandinavia a great social revolution was begun.

§ 9. *Hungary and the Peasants' Crusade*

In HUNGARY the crusading zeal of Cardinal Bakacs evoked the most unexpected consequences. He came as Papal legate, with a Bull calling on the Hungarian people to rise in a holy war against the Turks. The nobles, already infamous for their gross selfishness and wealth and lack of public spirit, refused to respond. The peasants, on the other hand, were roused by the appeals of priests and monks and enrolled in great numbers. In default of any leader from the upper classes, the legate chose

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George DOZSA, sprung from the common people and renowned for prowess against the Turk, as head of the Crusade; 40,000 Crusaders gathered round him. Then the lords, finding themselves without workers in their fields, called back the peasants. The peasants would not return. The nobles, true to their ignoble record, harried and tortured the wives and children left at home. This inhuman conduct turned the Crusade into a Jacquerie. The peasants were glowing with warlike passion against the infidel, sure of the absolution promised to all crusaders, when they were cruelly reminded that they had foes at home worse than any Turk. The memory of bitter wrongs which they had suffered for generations, aggravated since their mercilessly repressed risings of nearly a century ago, flared up into a rage for vengeance. A priest of Czegled, Laurence MESZAROS by name, became the leading spirit of the movement. He pressed on Dozsa as a sublime aim the liberation of the peasantry and the extermination of the lords. The king in consternation ordered Dozsa to march off with his troops towards the Turkish frontier. In resentful fury, Dozsa allowed his men, armed, but without provisions, to supply their commissariat and glut their wrath by plundering and burning the castles of the lords. Terrible scenes of havoc, outrage and impalement followed. The legate withdrew the Papal commission and put Dozsa to the ban. Undismayed, Dozsa called on all peasants to join him, on pain of being banned by the

HUNGARY : PEASANTS' CRUSADE

Church, of suffering eternal damnation, and of being hanged at the door of their own homes. Laurence went on administering the sacraments to the troops. He himself raised a vast army and set an example of vindictive cruelty. Flushed with a few striking victories, aflame with religious zeal, and wild with revenge, they roused the commonalty, both in town and country.

The nobles, panic-struck, rallied all their forces, hired troops from beyond the borders, and with tremendous slaughter crushed the revolt. Dozsa was seized, and seated on a red-hot iron chair, a red-hot iron crown was pressed on his head, a red-hot sceptre was put in his hands ; and several of his comrades, purposely famished for days, were forced to eat morsels of his roasted flesh torn from his body by red-hot pincers. Laurence escaped and was nevermore heard of. The "savage Diet" met the same year (1514) and passed laws which lowered the whole peasantry to the level of serfdom, and greatly increased the already crushing load of lordly exactions. So ended this agrarian Crusade. Its purpose of wiping out the whole class of nobles and landlords would, if carried out, have freed the world from one of the worst hordes of savages that ever polluted the Christian name. Dozsa and Meszaros would then have earned an honoured place in the bed-roll of national saviours. However distorted by inhuman cruelties, their movement was religiously inspired from first to last.

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§ 10. *Ignatius Loyola*

His Work as Social and Educational Reformer. The Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent.

For the peoples which declined the Protestant Reformation and retained their traditional loyalty to Rome, reformation within the Catholic confines was urgently demanded. This kind of change had (as we have seen), even before Protestantism appeared, been carried out by Ximenes in Spain. And from Spain it was to be extended with greater thoroughness to most of Papal Christendom. This was in the main the work of one man. Ignatius LOYOLA (1491-1556), a Spaniard of noble birth, driven out of his military career and lamed for life by a French cannon ball, in his vain defence of Pampeluna, was in his twenty-ninth year flung back upon the inner life, and by a vision of the Virgin and her Son, was for ever weaned from the gay vices of his youth. A long spiritual conflict ensued, which has often been compared with Luther's, and ended with the Spaniard as with the German, in a God-given certainty of pardon. He began to write his *Spiritual Exercises*, which when completed became one of the most dynamic books known to history. It laid down a course of mental drill for twenty-five days, spent in utter solitude, except for the instruction of a spiritual director, which by appropriate physical as well as spiritual exercises, by concentration of thought on the wickedness of sin, the horrors of Hell, the sufferings of the Redeemer, the glory of the

IGNATIUS LOYOLA

Risen One, and the love of God, turned the raw recruit into a disciplined soldier of the Church.

Twice imprisoned in Spain on suspicion of heresy, he studied at Paris University, and there gathered about him a small circle of disciples which he formed nine years afterwards into "the Company of Jesus." It was framed on the military model. It was to be a community of several grades, each obedient to its superior and all to the General, but the whole so organized was to be in absolute obedience to the Church as voiced by the Pope. Praying in a church on his way to seek the Pope's blessing, he had a vision of the Almighty Father placing him with Christ, and felt deeply sure that it was so. Three years later the new Society was officially approved by the Pope. It became the chief agent and inspiration of the Catholic or Counter-Reformation, which took effective shape in the Council of Trent (1545-1563), its definition of dogma, its purification of clerical morals, and its insistence on an educated clergy. The reforming work of this Council had most beneficent reactions on the social morality of Catholic countries.

Loyola, with his well-drilled spiritual militia, was much more than a mere renovator of ecclesiastical life. He was a social reformer. He began with the orphaned or deserted children of Rome. He gathered them into orphanages where they received the elements of education and were taught a trade. He soon had more than 200 boys and girls under his

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firm and kindly care. Another line of social service was the endeavour to suppress beggars. He had urged the council of his native town at once to prohibit begging and to provide for the really needy. He could not persuade the Roman authorities to adopt similar measures, and tried to attain the same end through institutions of his own society. In this Crusade against beggary, Protestant as well as Catholic peoples were already engaged.

But while Protestant authorities were bent on suppressing prostitution, with little care for the prostitute, Loyola, to his everlasting credit, was moved with a profound compassion for the fallen women. He was most painfully impressed by their vast numbers in all the large cities. At Venice he said "he would willingly give his life to hinder a day's sin of one of these unfortunates." In Rome, as we have seen, the evil had reached appalling dimensions. Loyola offered to all who would abandon their old life a refuge in some decent home. At first he placed them with private families. But the increasing number of fugitives from vice led him to set up "Martha Houses." These, says Dr. Lindsay, "were in no sense convents. There was, of course, oversight, but the idea was to provide a bright home where these women could earn their own living or the greater part of it. The scheme spread to many of the large Italian towns and many ladies were enlisted in the plans to help their fallen sisters."

IGNATIUS LOYOLA

Loyola also made organized provision to redeem captive Christians from Moslem bondage. He set up agencies to advance loans to the poor, Poor Man's Banks, as we might call them. He sought to put an end to duelling. The social effects of the Jesuit missions East and West must also be remembered. But the greatest social service rendered by Loyola and his successors, was to the cause of education. Even before the Society was formed, its founders were busy teaching the young. They established colleges to send out well-trained priests. They opened free schools and published new school books. It has been claimed for them that, for nearly three centuries, they were the best schoolmasters in Europe. What stronger praise could be given than Bacon's tribute : " as for the pedagogical part, the shortest rule would be, Consult the schools of the Jesuits: for nothing better has been put in practice " ?

The political unscrupulousness and the moral laxity of a subtle casuistry, for which the Society of Jesus has been condemned by Catholic as well as Protestant critics, may be traced to the military idea which ran through all Loyola's system. The German " War-book " has shown to what infamous extremes military obedience can be pushed ; and when obedience is exacted in the interests not of a secular State but of a very fallible Church and Pope, there tends to appear a similar disregard both of private morals and public welfare. Of Loyola's whole-souled devotion to the Christ, there can be no

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manner of doubt. He meant his society to be in reality a "company of Jesus." In days when Spain was the greatest power in the world, he was the greatest Spaniard of them all.

§ 11. *Treatment of Coloured Races*

The social value and power of Christianity as developed at the close of fourteen Christian centuries were put to a severe test when European whites in the course of their geographical explorations, East and West, came into touch with coloured peoples. Christendom had by that time to a large extent freed itself from slavery and serfdom. The Franciscans had brought home to men's minds the tremendous stress which Jesus placed on care for "the least of these," the defenceless and neglected. And now were discovered in distant lands whole populations who were comparatively helpless in the presence of the skill and weapons of Europeans. Here was a great opportunity for showing the mettle of Christian justice, charity, chivalry. The explorers sailed and landed under the banner of the Cross and with the blessing of the Church; and spoke much of bringing the light of true religion to peoples wrapped in heathen darkness. But exposed to this momentous test, European Christianity failed, lamentably and disastrously failed; failed not for one generation, but for well nigh four centuries. It was a great triumph of Mammon. To gain gold and silver and jewels and other forms of material wealth, "Chris-

TREATMENT OF COLOURED RACES

tian " nations used up their weaker brethren without hesitation. They evangelized, but enslaved them.

In 1442 the infamous business began. A Portuguese captain under Prince Henry was rewarded for returning prisoners of war, by the gift of ten negro slaves. The lesson thus taught by the Moslem, Portuguese Christians acted on with all greediness. Black slaves were sold in different parts of Spain and were carefully trained in the Christian faith. In the New World Columbus established slavery and Christianity together. The simple and gentle and docile natives of the West Indies were reduced to the condition of slaves, and were forced to work in the mines to get the precious metals for their Spanish masters. It was hard work ; they were kept to it with Spanish severity. In consequence they died off in large numbers. Within fifteen years in Haiti alone, the native population shrank from a million to 60,000. The advent of the Gospel in America was heralded by this wholesale massacre of innocents. To relieve the Indians, negro slaves born in Spain and brought up in the Spanish religion, were shipped across the Atlantic. So began the history of negro slavery in the Americas. In the West Indies, Mexico and Peru, the land was torn from its owners and parcelled out among the conquerors ; and on these allotments the native inhabitants were reduced to forced labour. Insatiable avarice and pitiless exploitation of the weak marked the impact of Christendom on the New World.

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The Christian conscience was, happily, by no means dumb. Bartolomé de LAS CASAS (1474-1506), son of one of Columbus' fellow discoverers, the first priest ordained on American soil (1510), did, by his advocacy of the cause of the natives, honourably earn for himself the title of "the Apostle of the Indies." At first, like other Spaniards, he took his allotment in Cuba, and grew rich on the wealth produced by his slaves. Then Christ conquered Mammon in his soul. He would own no more slaves. He preached against the wickedness of the allotment system. Backward and forward he went to Spain to urge on the authorities there measures of amelioration. On his second visit he proposed the liberation of all Indian slaves, and to this end the investment of every Spanish colonist with the right to bring in twelve negro slaves. Of this glaring inconsistency Las Casas afterwards repented himself. But not before the Emperor had granted a licence to import into the West Indies every year 40,000 negroes. At last, in 1542, he obtained from Charles V. the "New Laws" for the abolition of Indian slavery. Later his representations dissuaded Philip II. from making the allotment system perpetual. But the good bishop was nearly heart-broken to find the "New Laws" evaded, resisted, thwarted, or ignored by the Spanish allotment-holders. Monks and friars supervised the native workers, but were unable to make their nominal freedom real.

DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA

§ 12. *Defeat of the Armada : Social Consequences*

The overthrow of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was an event of the first importance in the social history of mankind. It was more than the defeat of the Papacy and the deliverance of Protestantism. It was more than the passing of the trident of the seas from the Latin to the Germanic races. It marked the beginning of a vaster revolution. It ushered in the gradual ascendancy of the English-speaking peoples over the modern world, and the corresponding decline of the Romance Powers. From that time the English spirit has progressively led the world, and the Pagan survivals of the Roman spirit have been one after the other eliminated. The Puritan Rebellion, the English Revolution, the American Revolution, and by repercussion therefrom the French Revolution, established modern Democracy. The pale ghost of ancient Imperial Rome was finally laid by Napoleon in 1806. Modern imitations of Cæsarism, in the French, Russian and German Empires, have vanished : the English Parliamentary idea dominates the world. And the driving power of English political progress has come from the Christian faith. In other spheres of social action, maritime, commercial, industrial, philanthropic, not forgetting sport, the leadership of mankind, since the Great Fleet of Philip went to pieces, has been increasingly and mostly supplied by the peoples that speak the English tongue. How

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far this remarkable result is due to Christian sources remains to be seen.

§ 13. *The Value of Shakespeare : and the Bond of Art*

Of the social influence of SHAKESPEARE, who appeared at this turning of the tide of human history, whole libraries might be written. The task need not be attempted here. Two hints from Carlyle may suffice. Carlyle pronounced Shakespeare " the noblest product of Middle Age Catholicism " : he sang the practical life which the Christian faith as sung by Dante had produced. Carlyle asks, what will keep all the great spaces of the globe to be occupied by Saxondom, from falling out and fighting, and help them to live at peace, in brotherlike intercourse ? He answers " King Shakespeare."

The social value of great works of ART is abundantly evident. They link many souls together in a common thrill of admiration. They strengthen civic patriotism with the joy and pride of possession, as they beautify town hall or cathedral. They refine and elevate the public taste. They inspire afresh with their own religious inspiration. They contribute in a thousand ways to social amenity. With these charms the sixteenth century was profusely endowed.

Architecture had already, in the foregoing centuries, erected its cathedral masterpieces. Now came a most wonderful outburst of pictorial art. Was there ever a succession of painters equal to those

THE BOND OF ART

who were so prodigally lavished upon this century of a renewed Christendom ? As though in indignant protest against the ugliness of religious strife, the hideous ruptures of European society, and the horrors of persecution, the age produced in generous profusion glory after glory of colour and form, to fascinate the generations with the sweet, still spell of beauty. Among the crowd of Masters stand out pre-eminent Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), in whose encyclopædic genius struggled unceasingly the desire to know and the desire to show, whose "Holy Supper" claims the unceasing admiration of the world : Raphael Sanzio (1483-1520), the immortal youth whose incomparable Madonnas have for four centuries taught humanity the divine significance of motherhood and childhood ; Michelangelo (1475-1564), sculptor, painter, poet, architect, who in marble and on canvas illuminated with his magic skill the great scenes and heroes of Scripture ; Titian (1477-1576), lord of exquisite finish, whose creative imagination played with many a theme from Pagan lore, but found its most admired outlet in Magdalene and Madonna ; and Paul Veronese (1528-1588), in whom colour reached its climax, whose "Feasts" at Cana and in Simon's house abide, a fruitful, festal joy to all mankind. These and a host of others derived, as their subjects show, their highest inspirations from the religion of Mary's Son, the Crucified ; and the Church, their chief patron, gave them also fitting gallery.

PERIOD XI

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY : FURTHER RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE, AND NEW COMMUNITIES OVERSEA.

§ 1. *Gustavus Adolphus*

Rise of Sweden. Gustavus, Saviour of Protestantism, Humanizer of War, and Nation-builder. Social Sequels of the Thirty Years' War.

THE peasantry of SWEDEN offered, even in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a notable contrast to the peasantry of Central Europe. The Swedes were self-reliant, the mainstay of the new monarchy against the aggressive nobles, and conscious of their strength. They were at first attached to the old religion, and opposed to the new taxation, as half a dozen peasant risings attested ; Gustavus I. with difficulty subdued them. He lamented in 1520 that Sweden was a barbarous country.

But in 80 years a striking transformation took place. Lutheranism captured the whole people. The creative power of the re-discovered Gospel asserted itself. Sweden was re-born. Education went hand in hand with the Lutheran Church. Peasantry and nobles shared in the new culture. Then was given a great King, born and nurtured in

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

the new faith. In barely one hundred years, Sweden rose from being an appanage of the Danish crown to occupying the proud position of a veritable Empire and of the foremost Protestant Power in Europe. So was displayed, in a new age, the nation-building genius inherent in vital Christianity.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS (1594-1632), from earliest years trained in languages, classic lore, statecraft and war, was but a youth of 18 when he ascended the throne, but his reign of 20 years made him for ever the national hero, and entitled him to be called the Saviour of Protestantism. One grave lapse is recorded against him. The woman he passionately loved having been married to another, he became in his twenty-second year by a Dutch mistress the father of a boy, who curiously enough won his spurs in the very battle in which his father was slain. Otherwise his character was of the noblest ; and the deepest and most decisive influence in his life was his religion.

His patriotism discerned the danger of the Baltic coming under the control of the Catholic powers, which would mean the downfall of Protestant Sweden. From this arose his wars with Poland and Russia and finally with the Imperial Allies ; hence too were occasioned his acquisitions east and west of the Baltic, which may be called the Swedish Empire. But the motive which dominated him in these patriotic campaigns was the resolve to save the religion of Jesus Christ as he understood it from " a

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soul-crushing tyranny." He joined in the Thirty Years' War under the solemn conviction of a Divine Mandate. He was called and destined to deliver Protestant Europe. This certainly lent its own subtle power to his singular gifts as monarch, soldier, statesman. He and his people were one in the passion and sacrifice of a great religious purpose.

He was a humane commander, ever mindful of the welfare of his troops. It is characteristic that he provided each soldier with stout boots and two pairs of thick stockings. In the annals of the Social Christianity that seeks to humanize war, he earned the honourable distinction of introducing for the first time field-hospitals and travelling medicine chests. The Thirty Years' War originated, it is true, in the revolt of Protestant Bohemia from the Imperial yoke and in its resolve to have a Protestant king, but it grew into a war of extermination by the Catholic Powers against the Protestants of Central Germany. Gustavus Adolphus, by broad-spirited diplomacy as well as by brilliant generalship, overcame opposition and delays by Protestant Brandenburg and Protestant Saxony, and shattered the Papal forces on the field of battle.

He and his troops opened the decisive day at Lützen (November 6th, 1632) with prayer and the singing of the battle-hymns of the Reformation. Waving his sword above his head, he cried, "Forward, in God's name ! Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, help us to strive to-day to the honour of Thy holy name !"

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

As with Joan of Arc at the stake, so with the Swedish hero in his last conflict, it is the name of Jesus, the ever-living unseen Commander, that is above every name. Separated from his troops in the mist which enveloped both armies, and fatally wounded, he was surrounded by the cuirassiers of the enemy, that demanded who he was. "I am the King of Sweden who do seal the religion and liberty of the German nation with my blood." Their swords despatched him ; but the Swedes were victorious. And sixteen years after, the Peace of Westphalia gave peace and freedom to the Protestants of Germany, and to the Swedes the Baltic territories they most desired. Sweden had risen to the height of her power, and had gained the imperishable glory of interposing at the supreme moment to save the liberty of Europe.

But the regions thus liberated paid the heaviest price. Germany was devastated almost to the extent of becoming a desert. Her people were flung back two hundred years, and for a hundred more were almost stagnant. Horrible sequels ensued to military brutality, among which concubinage and polygamy were by no means the worst. The protracted agony of Europe convinced the world of the detestable folly and wickedness of attempting to settle theological controversy by armed conflict. It was a relic of Paganism, fitly championed in this war by the Austrian survival of Imperial Rome. In Christendom henceforth, so great was the

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revulsion created, there have been no more religious wars.

§ 2. *The Jesuits in Paraguay*

Communities created in Mid-South America. Their Defensive Measures. Social and Industrial Methods. Voltaire's Tribute.

From these destructive consequences of the anti-Christian attempt to coerce conscience by the sword, it is refreshing to turn to the constructive work of a genuine Christianity in communities beyond the sea. We have already seen how Christian pity strove to temper Spanish cruelty to the natives of the New World ; how laws were passed forbidding their being made into slaves ; and how they were instructed in Christian faith and morals. The spirit of St. Francis was still alive. "Almost in every instance the ecclesiastics who accompanied the first conquerors of America were Franciscans." But after them came members of the new Society of Jesus, sent and bent on errands of danger and adventure. In the new West as in the old East, they added much to the record of missionary heroism. But in socially creative work, their greatest achievement was in the heart of South America, in PARAGUAY.

This region, far inland, explored in 1527 by Sebastian Cabot, and eagerly overrun by Spanish adventurers, was peopled by a race indolent and generally unwarlike, living, by preference in the woods, on the natural exuberance of the tropical clime. The Spaniards promptly reduced them to

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serfage. Franciscans followed in the wake of conquest and strove, but with little result, to mitigate the hard lot of the natives. The first Jesuit Fathers who came met with as slight success. The real builders of a new community were the Jesuits who came in 1605. They gathered the natives together into settlements and trained them in industry and religion without degrading them into slaves.

This novel device was most offensive to the Spanish colonists who felt themselves naturally entitled to the forced labour of the helpless people. They took draft after draft of the Indians to work in the mines ; and so terrible was the mortality amongst the miners that the Indians, when impressed for the mines, arranged their affairs as men doomed to certain death. The numbers of the native population were so alarmingly reduced that a special inquiry was ordered by the Government and resulted in a prohibition of slavery and forced labour. The highly incensed European settlers attributed this result to the action of the Jesuits and drove them out of Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay.

Laws notwithstanding, forced labour and slavery continued. A specially ferocious breed, compounded of Portuguese, Indian and negro blood, to whom the name Mamalucos was given, engaged in regular slave-raids, carrying off their victims to be sold to Europeans in Brazil and elsewhere. Sometimes there were as many as 15,000 captives in a single raid. The raiders regarded the Jesuit settle-

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ments, where more than 40,000 Indians were gathered, as a convenient reservoir of possible slaves. The natives were by law forbidden the use of weapons. They were quite helpless against the fully armed Mamalucos.

Here was a problem for the Pacifist. The plan of non-resistance was given a long trial and had utterly failed. The defencelessness of the Indians made no appeal to the humanity or justice of the raiders, only to their fierce greed of gain. They were simply encouraged to plunge more deeply into crime ; and the Indians were tempted to flee for safety to their native woods. It was not a case, such as Penn had before him in the early days of Pennsylvania, of arranging with high-minded American chiefs for the safety of white settlers. It was a case of protecting natives, elsewhere regarded as fair spoil for slavery, against a brutal gang of slave-raiders. There was only one way to preserve the Jesuit settlements, and their chief father Montoya took it. He went over to Spain and obtained royal permission to arm the natives under Jesuit control. Jesuits who had been soldiers before they renounced the world, taught the Indians the use of European weapons and drilled them in European style. The remedy was entirely effective. Slave-raids ceased. For more than a hundred years the community, directed by the Jesuits, led an undisturbed life. Here was an experiment in self-defence and in saving the evildoer further crime—an experiment con-

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ducted from the purest of Christian motives—which was crowned with complete success.

The towns and villages into which the Jesuits, by religious persuasion alone, grouped the natives, formed another striking social experiment. It also was motived by Christian principle and makes a valuable instance of social Christianity. It was a system of semi-communism. The agricultural lands and workshops, the cattle and the horses, all belonged to the community. Out of the joint product each family received its keep : widows and orphans were specially provided for : and the balance was spent in buying necessary commodities from Buenos Ayres or Spain. Most of the arts and crafts of Europe were imported : the Jesuits taught the Indians to weave cotton, to build boats, to make carriages, arms, gunpowder, instruments of music ; to work the printing press, which turned out many books ; trained them to be silversmiths, musicians, painters and turners. Private ownership was allowed to a certain extent in cows, horses, gardens ; but the produce was to go into the common stock and be paid for by such things as knives, scissors, looking-glasses. Even their clothes were given them from the communal store.

The native indolence of the Indians, the Fathers overcame in several ways. They enforced the Apostle's maxim : No work, no food. The family rations depended on good behaviour. The laborious lives of the Fathers, two of whom had the entire

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superintendence of each village community, set a noble example. They made work attractive by marching the workers out to the fields with banners and music, surrounding the midday meal with music and singing, and bringing them back at even again in a beflagged and musical procession. Frequent holy days and saints' days not merely freed all from work, but were kept with the pageantry of colour and sound dear to the heart of the natives.

The government of these communities observed democratic forms ; the mayor and other officers were chosen by the people, but they were nominated by the Jesuits. Encouragement of a difference of opinion could hardly be expected from Jesuits. The high character of the Fathers, the religious awe which they inspired, as well as the protection which they secured for the natives and the " rude plenty " which the latter always enjoyed, doubtless made the Fathers veiled but real autocrats. But the village-autocrats used their power for the welfare of the people, in obedience to the Order, and beyond all controversy " for the greater glory of God."

Of course they were fiercely accused. One can imagine what Anglo-Indians or the South African Dutch would have said about the founders of a self-supporting native commonwealth right in the midst of them. The motive of Spanish and Portuguese traducers, both eager to exploit the native even to death, is plain enough to discount their abuse. The pity is, not their calumnies, but their victory. By

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a treaty made in 1750, the territory was ceded from Spain to Portugal ; and the Jesuits, knowing what that transfer meant—the loss of their old Spanish liberties and immunities—took up arms against their new masters. Spaniard and Portuguese combined against them, and in several battles defeated them. A revocation of the treaty in 1761 could not save them : the success of their missions was broken ; and nine years later, the Jesuits were officially expelled by the Spanish Government, only a few years before the Order was suppressed by the Pope. A sufficient answer to their accusers is that among the Indians of Paraguay to-day travellers find nothing but kind and happy memories of the Fathers who cared for the natives in days so long ago. The story of the century and a half of these Jesuit settlements splendidly contrasts with tales of the extermination of native races by Protestant peoples in other continents. In recalling Paraguay, many a social Christian to-day, be he never so stout a Protestant, will feel as he feels in singing Xavier's hymn " My God, I love Thee "—a deep and reverent sense of kinship. Surely Voltaire may be accepted as a witness not likely to be biassed in favour of any order of ecclesiastics ; and he declared :

" When in 1786 the missions of Paraguay left the hands of the Jesuits, they had arrived at perhaps the highest degree of civilization to which it is possible to conduct a young people, and certainly at a far superior

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state than that which existed in the rest of the new hemisphere. The laws were respected there, morals were pure, a happy brotherhood united every heart, all the useful arts were in a flourishing state, and even some of the more agreeable sciences : plenty was universal."

§ 3. *The Pilgrim Fathers*

The Pilgrim Church a Unique Social Instrument. Its Mandate. John Robinson. The *Mayflower* Covenant. Roger Williams and Rhode Island, Asylum of Religious Liberty.

The general awakening of the Conscience of Christendom in the sixteenth century made itself felt in nearly all lands as a demand for purer Church life. To this end a General Council was asked for : and a new Order was founded by Loyola. Failing ecumenic action, national interposition was invoked. There were a few Englishmen who could not brook these slow and cumbrous methods : they themselves would stand out from the Church as by law established, and, "without tarrying for any," form a Church all members of which should be confessedly and evidently Christian. Little companies of gathered souls sprang up here and there, strong in the belief that, however harried and persecuted they might be, Christ was in the midst of them, manifesting His authority and declaring His Will.

Of these churches, which were called Separatist, Brownist or Independent, there was one with a great history before it, which met at Scrooby and Gainsborough. They had entered into a solemn covenant

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with the Lord and with each other " To walk in all His ways, made known or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatever it should cost them." We have often seen what vast use the Unseen Leader makes of even a single soul entirely devoted to " His ways." Here was not one individual, but a whole company of men and women absolutely surrendered to the directing will of the ever-living Lord. It was not a company of celibates withdrawn from the ordinary life of home and industry. They were families. There were among them a few country gentlemen, the rest were weavers, artisans, and for the most part husbandmen. Ready at all risks and at all costs to do His bidding, they formed a social instrument by which He could accomplish stupendous results. And did.

First in obedience to His command, to escape heavy persecution at home, they crossed over to Holland. Disputes among them at Amsterdam led the major part in quest of peace to settle down in Leiden in 1609 under Pastor John ROBINSON. There they worked and worshipped together in freedom. But in a few years' time they " took up thoughts of removing themselves into America by common consent." For this course they gave several reasons : (1) they had not been able to amend the Sabbath observance of the Dutch " or any other thing amiss among them " ; (2) " the hardness of the country " compelled some of them, having spent all, to return to England ; (3) of their children some were over-

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worked physically, and many others were, by the bad example of the Dutch, corrupted morally ; (4) their posterity would in a few generations become Dutch ; (5) “ a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world.” These reasons were “ debated first in private and thought weighty,” and “ afterwards propounded in public.”

The reason which was decisive was so apparent to them all that there was no need of mentioning it. They were Congregationalists. When they met together in the name of Christ and arrived at a decision “ by common consent,” it was no longer their decision only, it was His. They had ascertained His will, and for them there was no option but to obey. In a matter of such grave importance as escaping to Holland and still more of migrating to America, they could only act when, after much prayer and humiliation, they were assured of having received the Mandate of the Christ. In their own words, “ the resolution was at length prayerfully and deliberately adopted, that they would be prepared to emigrate when and whithersoever the Providence of God might direct.”

So, in this momentous venture, which changed the course of history, we are enabled to perceive the clear orders of the unseen Director. In the fifth reason, the “ great hope and inward zeal of laying some good

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foundation," we seem to hear the echo of His prescient purpose. So they wrote to Sir Edwin Sandys, through whom they hoped to receive the King's permission to settle on his American territory. "We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us, unto Whom and Whose service we have given ourselves in many trials." So, "by the good Providence of God, and in answer to fervent and importunate prayer, permission to settle in Virginia was at last obtained, with an assurance that they should not be disturbed or injured on account of their peculiar religious opinions and practices."

Arrangements being made for the voyage, the whole Leiden congregation met July 21st, 1620, for humiliation and prayer, when John Robinson gave his prophetic farewell : he bade them if God should reveal anything to them, to be ready to receive it ; "for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word." He lamented that Lutherans stuck where Luther left them, and the Calvinists where Calvin left them ; "yet God had not revealed His whole truth" to Luther or Calvin, who, if living then, would be "ready and willing to embrace further light." He bade the emigrants "to endeavour to close with the godly party of England and rather to study union than division." The company embarked at Delft Haven after much singing and feasting and prayer, ending in many tears.

Robinson sent after them to Southampton a letter

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also full of the future. In this he exhorted to daily penitence and constant peace with each other. "Your intended course of civil government will minister continual occasion of offence, unless you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance." He urged "that with your common employments you join common affections, truly bent upon the general good. . . . Let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves as not sorting with the general conveniency." Lastly he bade them as they were "to become a body politic" to choose only such persons as do entirely love the common good and to yield them honour, "not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good, nor being like the foolish multitude who more honour the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord."

These farewell words reveal John Robinson as the spiritual maker of the Pilgrim Fathers and of the community they were to found. A graduate of Cambridge University, a scholar of repute in Leiden University, he merged himself in his people and by his word and influence compacted them into a unity which all the trials of the future were unable to destroy. He breathed into them the spirit of a progressive democracy ever conscious of the guiding Presence amongst them. His parting messages

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might have been drafted in clear foreknowledge of the career that lay before them and of the great commonwealth of which they were the spiritual founders. He was pre-eminently the pastor, whose care for his flock and certainty of the guidance of "the great Shepherd of the sheep" projected his mind far ahead into what lay before them. His greatness was in his humility and reverent obedience. Much wishing to accompany the Pilgrims, he obeyed the word of the Lord made known to the Church that he must remain with the majority in Holland.

After a brief stay at Southampton, the Pilgrims, 101 in number (23 families and 14 single persons) finally embarked at Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, and after three months on the Atlantic, and much coasting about the shores, decided to land, as they did, on Plymouth Rock, December 22nd, 1620. But before landing, on November 11th, they drew up and signed the covenant by which they, hitherto a Church, became a State. The historic words may be quoted here as one of the most memorable and most fruitful achievements of Social Christianity: "Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant a colony in the northern parts of Virginia"—the location was altered afterwards—(we) "do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation,

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and furtherance of the ends aforesaid ; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony ; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." The first governor they elected was John Carver, and after his death, William Bradford.

On Christmas Day they " began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods." Then " they began to build some small cottages for habitation." The first winter tested their mettle severely. More than half their number died ; sometimes only six of them were free from sickness. Undaunted they persevered. In the spring of the next year they concluded a treaty with Indian chiefs for the acquisition of their lands and of their loyal alliance. They also planted their spring corn, and, equipped with school and church, they began their great career as makers of New England, with all that that meant for America and the world. They had " laid a good foundation " of religious liberty, civil democracy, and education. And we know Who called them, trained them, sent them across the Ocean and planted them on American soil.

" They left unstained, what there they found, Freedom to worship God." These words of Mrs. Hemans' would have remained true of the Plymouth

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colony of Independents had they not soon come under the less tolerant influence of the Presbyterians of Boston, who still regarded themselves, though non-conforming, as members of the National Church and entitled to maintain orthodoxy (as they conceived it) by the civil power. Another social experiment was necessary in the great laboratory of America to provide genuine freedom of conscience, as a basis of State life. Roger WILLIAMS (*c.* 1607–1684), son of a London tailor, was consciously under Divine guidance from his earliest years. Towards the end of a long life he wrote: “From my childhood, now about three-score years, the Father of lights and mercies touched my soul with a love for Himself, to His only begotten, the true Lord Jesus, to His holy Scripture.” Trained at Charterhouse School and Cambridge, a favourite of Sir Edward Coke, he first studied law and then theology, but was hindered by his conscience from seeking a career in the Church of England.

In 1631 he crossed the Atlantic to Boston, and became assistant pastor in Salem. His views not being acceptable to the Boston church-leaders he took up a similar post in the freer atmosphere of Plymouth. But in two years’ time he returned to Salem and became pastor there. Again the Boston authorities swooped down upon him. These were the heinous heresies with which they charged him: he taught that “all men may walk as their consciences persuade;

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every one in the name of his God," "that there was no power either civil or ecclesiastical vested with authority to put constraint upon consciences, that the Indians had rights which neither king nor Christian could disregard, that they were independent tribes and were in no sense subjects of the King of England." He was tried, and refusing to recant, he was banished at six weeks' notice from Massachusetts. An attempt was even made to kidnap him and ship him back to England.

He escaped and on the friendly advice of the people at Plymouth, set out for lands immediately to the South. He tells us that he was "tossed about for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean," doubtless when coasting about in 1636. At last in June of that year, he with four friends settled in what became known as Rhode Island, and called the place Providence as memorial of "God's merciful providence to him in his distress." He and twelve associates bought the land from the Indians, with whom he was always on friendly terms, and divided it amongst themselves in equal parts. All newcomers had to sign a compact, promising to obey actively and passively all orders made by the "major consent of the present inhabitants . . . *only in civil things.*" Williams "desired that it might be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." In 1643, he went over to England and by aid of highly placed friends he obtained from Parliament a Charter

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giving "the Providence plantations in the Narragansett Bay full power to rule themselves as they shall by free consent agree unto." The Charter was renewed by Charles II. in 1663.

This freedom Williams obtained at no small cost to himself. As he said, "many thousand pounds cannot repay the losses I have sustained." He supported himself by his own manual toil: "the time was spent, day and night, at home and abroad, on land and water, at the hoe and at the oar, for bread." But the costly experiment proved a great success. Refugees came flocking from many parts to the new home of freedom, and were cordially welcome. Quakers came, and Williams refused to comply with the Massachusetts request to exclude them.

In 1638 Anabaptists came and converted Williams to their views. Baptized by one of them, he baptized the rest. So was founded the first Baptist Church in America, the parent of a numerous and powerful progeny. Then Williams became a "seeker" and forsook the Baptists. He occupied at different times the position of member of the assembly of the colony, governor and assistant governor. His friendship with the Indians enabled him to prevent a combination of tribes designed to exterminate the whites, and secured the safety of the very colony which had expelled him. He died at a good old age, having seen the assured establishment of the first English colony where complete religious liberty

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prevailed. Acting under the imperious dictates of a conscience which strove to carry out the mandates of Christ, he did one of the great "works of the Christ" who came to proclaim liberty to the soul.

§ 4. *The Windsor Prayer Council*

The Ironsides together in Three Days of Prayer. Their Dread Mandate. Its Consequences.

The Pilgrim Fathers were the pioneers of positive constructive democracy. The terrible destructive task was assigned to their fellow-Independents at home. Theirs it was to clear royal absolutism out of the way of the people's freedom. And in this dread work, the Unseen Initiative was just as manifest. The middle classes which had come to power under the Tudors, had received their baptism of Puritanism; and Puritans on religious grounds could not tolerate royal tyranny. The Parliament which the Franciscan piety of Simon de Montfort had called into being, was vindicated four centuries later by the piety of the Puritans. But before the despotism set up by the Tudors and the wilder claims of the Stuarts could be destroyed, a severe act of surgery must be performed upon the body politic.

In the beginning of 1648, the Army Leaders met at Windsor Castle, in much dejection over the adverse current of events. It seemed as if all that they won at Marston Moor and at Naseby was being

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lost in the tangle of negotiations with the King and the Parliament and the Scots. Adjutant Allen's narrative, as quoted by Carlyle, vividly describes this prayer council. "We spent one day together in prayer, inquiring into the causes of that sad dispensation, coming to no further result that day, but that it was still our duty to seek." Next day, after much speech from the Word and prayer, Cromwell urged "a thorough consideration of our actions as an army, and of our ways particularly as private Christians ; to see if any iniquity be found in them." "And the way the Lord led us to herein was this : To look back and consider what time it was when with joint satisfaction we could last say to the best of our judgments, The presence of the Lord was amongst us."

On the third day they found the source of their trouble in "those cursed carnal conferences our own conceited wisdom, our fears and want of faith had prompted us to entertain with the King and his party." Major Goffe "made use of that good word, Turn you at My reproof. . . . I will make known My words. And the Lord so accompanied by His Spirit, that it had a kindly effect upon most of our hearts ; which begot in us a great sense, a shame and loathing of ourselves for our iniquities, and a justifying of the Lord as righteous. And in this path the Lord led us, not only to see our sin, but also our duty ; and this so unanimously set with weight upon each heart, that none was able

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to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping. . . . And yet we were helped with fear and trembling to rejoice in the Lord . . . Who no sooner brought us to His feet, acknowledging Him in that way of His . . . but He did direct our steps ; and presently we were led and helped to a clear agreement among ourselves, not any dissenting, that it was the duty of our day, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies which that year in all places appeared against us. . . . And we were also enabled then, after serious seeking His face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large debated amongst us, That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed and mischief he had done to the utmost, against the Lord's cause and People in these poor Nations."

Certain of Divine direction, these men went out, defeated all their foes, called Charles Stuart to account, and after due trial, beheaded him. They acted as conscious executants of the Will of the Lord. Could they have been mistaken ?

In deep humiliation of soul and searching of heart and confession of sin, they had for three days together prayed for guidance. They met in His name and were sure that He was in the midst. With complete unanimity they recognized in the end His clear mandate. They obeyed. And the consequences of their obedience are strong confirmation of

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their prayerful conviction. The execution of Charles I. made royal absolutism for ever impossible in the British Isles. It has ever since been a warning, sometimes a presage, to crowned malefactors. Cromwell himself said of the act : it was " one which Christians in after time will mention with honour and all tyrants in the world look at with fear " : he believed it—how could he do other, after the Windsor experience ?—" directly ordained by God." The Regicides made democracy possible in the Old World, as the Pilgrim Fathers made it actual in the New World. The two foundation-stones from which the arch of popular self-government springs heavenward are Plymouth Rock and the block at Whitehall. He who had scourged the traffickers out of His Father's House had now banished royal tyranny out of the temple of British rule.

§ 5. *Cromwell and the Puritans*

Their Demand for Character in Public Service. Sense of England's Mission. John Milton.

The career of Oliver CROMWELL (1599-1658), from the obscurity of a country gentleman to the Protectorship of England and a pre-eminent place among the soldiers and statesmen of Europe, was only explicable to him as the work of the Unseen Disposer of events. The clearer perspective of later generations confirms his faith. He was consciously a tool in the hands of God. His great record need

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only be recalled here, as a reminder that he was one of our greatest Social Christians. He endeavoured with all the force of his genius to reconstruct society, in England, in the Three Nations, and in the world, so far as was then possible, in conformity with the revealed Will of God in Christ Jesus. He was not merely or chiefly active in destroying the hindrances that stood in the way of this Divine mission. His purpose was essentially constructive. Carlyle suggests that the English people have only held together for two centuries by virtue of the measures which Cromwell introduced. His creative influence is shown not merely in army and navy, but also in the development of our mercantile marine and in the establishment of our overseas Empire. Mutual toleration is essential to social unity ; and he was more tolerant than his times would permit. We deplore his exclusion of Anglican and Catholic from the bounds of public tolerance, and his consequent crime of shipping Irish men and even Irish girls as slaves to the West Indies ; with both classes of " Malignants " he felt himself still in a state of war ; and war, by its very essence, cannot tolerate the enemy.

He laid down the principle and was the only British ruler who carried it out unflinchingly in every department of State : that conscience, character, godliness are essential to public service. From his Independency, with its insistence on purity of church-membership, he may have derived this principle.

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This was the New Model which made the Ironsides everywhere victorious. This was the idea which set his "Triers" on the task of establishing a pure Gospel ministry, and inspired the civil functions of his major-generals. The care men took to engage only serving-men of good character in their private employ, ought, he urged, to guide them in the choice of servants of the State. This is a principle of the first importance in every social structure or movement ; without it, no democracy, no organized Labour, no society of any kind can satisfactorily survive.

And Cromwell gave to his fellow-countrymen a vision of England's Divine vocation in the world, which has been the abiding inspiration of social progress under the British flag. On no nation, he devoutly declared, as on the English nation was so clearly manifest the stamp of God. John MILTON, "God-gifted organ voice" of Puritan England, put the same message in the sonorous prose of his "Plea for unlicensed printing"—itself a vast service to social advance—when he wrote :

"The favour and the love of Heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and perpending towards us. Why else was this nation chosen before any other, that out of her, as out of Sion, should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation in all Europe? . . . Now once again, by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy

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and devout men, . . . God is decreeing some new and great period in His Church, even to the reforming of Reformation itself : what does He then but reveal Himself to His servants, and as His manner is, first to His Englishmen ? ”

This view of “ God’s Englishmen ” as elect for world-service is the very redemption of national self-esteem from the coarse pride of vulgar nationalism. The same thought inspired Lord Shaftesbury in the nineteenth century as he began his great career of social reform : it has supplied the horizon surrounding the outlook of the humblest social worker.

The emphasis which Puritanism laid on character, of which the New Model was the most resounding instance, has left an enduring impress on English expansion, alike in commerce and Empire. Trust in English truth and justice and honour has been the vital social cement of the greatest commercial and imperial fabric that history has known. Puritanism has been charged with a shrinkage from Christian breadth to Hebrew narrowness: even so, it has rendered no small social service by its stress upon the Ten Commandments.

§ 6. *The Society of Friends*

GEORGE FOX and the Quakers. Their Social Distinction. Miraculous Voyage of the *Woodhouse*. WILLIAM PENN and the Quaker State—with modifications. His Town Planning.

Among the many new beginnings of which the seventeenth century, with its fresh touch on the

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Gospel and its wider world, was so prolific, falls now to be recorded the birth of the Society of Friends. George Fox (1624-1691), son of a Leicestershire weaver and trained to be a shoemaker, was from early days a soul apart, of inward piety. When he was nineteen, "at the command of God" he "broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young." Then ensued years of inward struggle, fruitless consultation, deep searchings of heart. At last in his twenty-first year, the Light came. When he was weighed down by trouble and temptation—let his own voice be heard—"Christ opened to me that through Him, and His power, light, grace and spirit I should overcome also. . . . Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me His light to believe in ; He gave me hope, which He Himself revealed in me ; and He gave me His spirit and grace, which I found sufficient." Here the Initiative is laid bare, from which sprang the great spiritual and social movement that has had so much to do with the making of history in the Old World and the New. Who that recalls the record of the Friends can doubt the evidence of their founder ?

So inwardly equipped, Fox began next year his roving life as a witnesser to the truths which had been revealed to him. He was frequently put in prison on charges of brawling in church and blasphemy and refusing to take an oath. His teaching gathered to him followers, scattered as were his journeyings ; but at Preston Patrick on the borders

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of Westmoreland and Lancashire, he found a group of men and women who had come out of the Established Church, a group prepared for him, and who under his spiritual influence formed the first Society of Friends (1652). Propaganda went on apace. Two years more saw more than three-score "ministers" going forth South and East and West. Soon they went far beyond the British Isles—to Turkey, Asia Minor, Palestine, Africa, as well as Italy, Holland and Germany, and America. And what was their distinctive witness? They held "that none were true believers but such as were born of God and had passed from death unto life"; that the worship of God was restricted to no place or order of service, but was to be left to the believers when met together, to be conducted as the Spirit moved them; that the outward sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist were unnecessary; that any one who satisfied the Monthly Meeting that he had a call to the ministry might be set apart to the work; that Women as well as men could preach and teach, the Spirit being regardless of sex; that war was forbidden by the Gospel; that oaths were likewise forbidden; that not Scripture alone, but the inward illumination also, furnished decisive guidance as to the truth.

These principles, enforced with an enthusiasm that sometimes took strange shapes, brought upon the Quakers, as they came to be called, almost continuous persecution from Puritans and Anglicans and Catholics, at home and abroad. The far-reaching

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social implications of these principles are evident and soon appeared. Not least to be noted is the interior discipline of the Society, whereby households as well as persons are subjected to wise counsel and guidance by the more experienced members. Their resolute disregard of contrary laws and civil penalties compelled, under Toleration, the legal recognition of their marriage ceremony, as of their refusal to take arms or to take oaths. They have thus created an atmosphere, in which other dissidents from established conventions came to find breathing space. They have contributed a well-filled series of chapters to the story of philanthropy, social reform, and international comity.

The early Quakers soon turned their minds towards America. Two Quakeresses, first of the Society to set foot on New England soil, were promptly put into prison at Boston for five weeks, and then shipped back to England. Eight men and women arriving a little later were kept two months in gaol and then repatriated. These returned missionaries at once began planning how to gain a landing in America. But no shipmaster could be found courageous enough to take so dangerous a cargo. Then help came unexpectedly. A small shipbuilder near Holderness, Robert Fowler by name, became a Friend, and was impressed with the conviction that a half-finished craft of his was to accomplish some great spiritual work. He finished it, launched it—"little more than a smack"—came up

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with it to London, and there happened to meet the Friends who were on the look-out for a vessel to carry the missionaries oversea. The coincidence was taken to be providential, though "the vessel was entirely inadequate for the purpose, and Robert Fowler was but a coastwise sailor, knowing nothing about navigation." Then the crew selected was impressed and carried off by the British Fleet.

Nevertheless the *Woodhouse*, as the wee craft was called, set sail, with eleven Quakers on board, on April 1st, 1657 : "the crew consisted of two men and three boys, none of whom had knowledge of the Ocean." The log of the *Woodhouse*, signed by Robert Fowler, and endorsed by George Fox, is the source of Dr. Holder's account of this literally miraculous voyage :

"Knowing nothing of navigation, the captain looked to his spiritually minded passengers for guidance, and we have the singular spectacle of a vessel being sailed across the Atlantic, the helmsman each day taking his orders from the ministers, who daily held a silent Quaker meeting for the purpose. . . . Early in the voyage they were threatened with a foreign fleet, which attempted their capture, Humphrey Norton announcing in advance that they would meet with this danger ; but he calmed the alarm of the captain by saying, Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall be carried away in a mist. This was literally true ; a fleet soon appeared and chased them, but the wind suddenly changed, and in a fog the *Woodhouse* escaped. One of the ministers then received

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word : ' Cut through and steer your straightest course and mind nothing but Me.' This they did."

Or, to quote the Log itself :

" Also thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way ; so that we have seen and said, We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head, we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was and is our Leader, Guide and Rule."

So the *Woodhouse* two months after leaving England sailed into Long Island Sound and landed all but two of the missionaries at New Amsterdam (now New York). In this way the Society of Friends effected a permanent settlement on American soil. And who dare say that the great record of their social service in that continent was not worthy of this miracle of a voyage ? The story of the *Woodhouse*, viewed in the light of results, shows how the Unseen Leader will not be balked in His plans by the persecution of men, the storms of the ocean, or the inadequacy of the means. The *Woodhouse* ranks in wonder far above the *Mayflower*.

The persecution of the Quakers in Old England and New England led George Fox in 1660 to meditate purchasing from the Indians land on which to plant a free Community of Friends. He visited various parts of the American coast about a dozen

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years later. After his return home, steps were taken to found West New Jersey, which became a preponderatingly Quaker community, with a free constitution. But the chief name among the Quaker founders of communities was that of WILLIAM PENN (1644-1718). Son of an English Admiral and a Dutch mother, trained at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, with early experience of French, Irish and English courts, he proved himself a man of many-sided genius, a lawyer, a courtier, a minister, a voluminous controversial writer, a statesman, a pioneer, a colonial Governor. He was able to speak to the world as no Quaker before him had done.

Of the Unseen inspiration of his exceptional career, we are left in no manner of doubt. When he was about eleven years old alone in his room, he was "surprised with an inward comfort": he saw a flood of glory shining around him and felt that he was in touch with the highest. Long afterwards he recorded in his Journal :

"The Lord first appeared to me in the twelfth year of my age, and the Lord visited me at intervals afterwards and gave me divine impressions of Himself. He sustained me through the darkness and debauchery of Oxford, my experiences of France, my father's harshness and the terrors of the Great Plague. He gave me a deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiousness of the religious in it. . . . It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain testimony of His eternal word through . . . Thomas Loe."

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For just after he had volunteered for military service, he attended (in 1666) a Quakers' meeting in Cork to hear his old friend Thomas Loe, and was so overcome by his testimony that he burst into tears and became a Quaker for life. He was arrested and imprisoned several times in course of his Quaker propaganda which he pursued with intense zeal, but he emerged victorious from the law-courts. In his twenty-sixth year his father's death left him a large fortune and with it a loan to the King amounting to £16,000. After drafting the constitution of West New Jersey, he obtained from the King in repayment of the loan the great tract of land named by the King Pennsylvania. As far back as 1661 at Oxford, he had, he wrote, "an opening of joy as to these parts." Here too he avowed the Source of his initiative : " For my country," he wrote in 1681,

" I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn inward to look to Him, and to owe it to His hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it and desire that I may not be unworthy of His love and do that which may answer His kind Providence . . . that an example may be set to the nations ; there may be room there, though not here, for such a holy experiment. . . . I went thither to lay the foundations of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither."

Of the province so secured, he was owner and governor. With more than sixty Quakers he went over and took possession in 1682. He told the colonists,

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“ You shall be governed by laws of your own making.” He got the Assembly, formed under his constitution, to pass the “ Great Law of Pennsylvania,” the purport of which was that “ Pennsylvania was to be a Christian State on a Quaker model.” Next year he made his celebrated treaty with the Indians : he assiduously cultivated their goodwill by lavish hospitality and other means, and secured their friendship for life. When James II. succeeded to the throne his influence at court became great, and he obtained a royal pardon for 1,200 Quakers then in prison.

The Quaker ideal of his American province had to be modified under the pressure of events. On resuming the governorship of Pennsylvania in 1694, he guaranteed to provide troops and funds for the defence of the frontiers ; and the piracy which had flourished in consequence of Quaker scruples against using force, he put down with a strong hand. In 1696, only thirteen years after the city was founded, the yearly meeting of Philadelphia solemnly resolved that Slavery was contrary to the first principles of the Gospel : to the honour of Quakerdom and of the City of Brotherly Love be that fact ever remembered. But Penn’s much less decided proposals for the amelioration of the slave’s condition were for the most part rejected by the Assembly.

Among the other merits of Penn, it may be mentioned that he was also a pioneer in town planning. He urged : “ Let every house be placed, if

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the person so will, in the middle of its plot, as to the breadthway of it, so that there may be ground on each side for gardens or orchards or fields, that it may be a green country town, which will never be burnt and always wholesome." His constructive genius on a yet larger scale in the world of thought claims later notice.

§ 7. *Social Thinkers of the Time*

Richard Hooker. Thomas Hobbes: his "Social Contract"; his Social Organism. John Locke. Hugo Grotius and International Law. Sully's Republic of all Christian Powers. Penn's Diet of Europe, with Coercive Functions.

With so much State-building in process, it was only to be expected that social thinkers would arise to discuss and formulate the principles which underlie all government. RICHARD HOOKER (1553-1600) in his "Ecclesiastical Polity" was the first to express in English and in systematic form the great principle of government only by consent of the governed. This idea Manegold of Lauterbach had expounded in the eleventh century; and Marsilius of Padua in the fourteenth century had asserted with revolutionary fervour. It now found ordered voice in the language of the people destined to give it the widest application. Hooker put it that to avoid the perils of anarchy "there was no way but only by growing into composition and agreement among themselves, by ordaining some kind of government public and by yielding themselves subject thereunto. . . . Men knew that strifes and troubles would be

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endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon. . . . And to be commanded we do consent, when that society, whereof we are part, hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement."

THOMAS HOBBS developed the idea further in his "Leviathan" (1651). He taught that man's state by nature was a war of all against all, in which every man had a right to everything ; that to secure peace "a man be willing, when others are so too, to lay down this right to all and be contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow to other men against himself": a principle which he identifies with the Golden Rule ; and that, as this mutual transferring of a right was called a Contract, justice demands that Contracts be kept. "The Commonwealth is one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenant one with another, have made themselves every one the author." "This is the generation of that great Leviathan." So emerges into English print the famous idea of the Social Contract.

But though he laid great stress on the artificial character of the Commonwealth, Hobbes described it in terms of a Social Organism rather than of a Social Contract. The parallel suggested by St. Paul in the image of Body and Members is more fully drawn out by Hobbes. The Commonwealth is described as a manifold "artificial Man" with many

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members ; sovereignty is the soul ; magistrates and officers are the joints ; rewards and punishments the nerves : counsellors the memory ; equity and laws the reason and the will ; colonies procreation ; commodities, nutrition ; property is assimilation ; money, sanguification ; collectors of revenue are the veins ; paymasters of the same, the arteries ; concord is the health ; sedition, sickness ; civil war, death. Hobbes went on to describe the Christian Commonwealth, and boldly applied his doctrine to the highest realm : " The Kingdom of God is a civil commonwealth, where God Himself is sovereign, by virtue, first of the Old, and since of the New Covenant."

JOHN LOCKE in his *Treatises on " Government "* (1689) shrewdly pointed out that " The princes of independent communities are at present in the state of Nature "—the existence of which had been denied. He proceeded from Hooker's principles and urged " That which begins and actually constitutes any political society is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen capable of majority to unite and incorporate in such a society." He uses this principle in defence of popular government, as Hobbes had used it in support of absolute monarchy. But the establishment of the great principle of Government only by consent of the governed was much more the work of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Rhode Islanders, and the Pennsylvanian Quakers than of the compilers of treatises. And we know

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the Source of the doings of these American pioneers.

The Roman Church having been torn asunder by the Reformation, and the Holy Roman Empire having sunk into an Austrian State, the insatiable thirst for ecumenical unity which had been awakened in the heart of man by Jesus and the Kingdom of God He proclaimed, demanded a fresh expression. HUGO GROTIUS (1583-1645) founded the modern science of International Law. A most wonderfully gifted man, jurist, statesman, theologian, poet, and litterateur, he was at first honoured by his countrymen, and then, on a charge of promoting civil disorder, really because he sided with the Arminian opponents of Prince Maurice, he was flung into prison. Thence he escaped in the famous soiled-clothes basket and had to remain an exile till his death. His great work *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (the Laws of War and Peace) lays down that "as the laws of each community regard the utility of that community, so also between different communities, all or most laws might be established, and it appears that laws have been established, which enjoined the utility, not of special communities, but of that great aggregate system of Communities. And this is what is called the Law of Nations, or International Law."

It traces the roots of all rights to man's social nature and the growth from them of civil rights and

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statutory laws. On this basis Grotius constructs his exposition of the rights of war, what is lawful and unlawful in war, and the means of mitigating or preventing war. Emphasizing the value of conference as an avoidance of strife, he puts the whole hope and programme of peace into a nutshell when he says, "It would be useful and indeed it is almost necessary, that certain Congresses of Christian Powers should be held, in which controversies which arise among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested : and in which measures may be taken to compel the parties to accept peace on equitable terms."

The greatness of the work (published in Paris in 1625) was soon recognized. Gustavus Adolphus carried the book about with him, and slept with it under his pillow. The Elector Palatine promptly founded at Heidelberg a professorship of the new science. His theological ardour and the impulse which led to his writing "The Truth of the Christian Religion"—a book that has gone round the world in many languages—show whence Grotius derived his inspiration.

The Duc de SULLY (1560-1641) left at his death a scheme, which he attributed to his master Henri IV., of gathering all the Christian Powers into a grand monarchical Republic, very Christian, always at peace with the Christians and always at war with the Infidels. First there must be established reasonable boundaries to all the greater Powers, which all the

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Powers shall publicly declare they accept and shall solemnly swear to maintain. But if it is discovered that any Power cherishes other designs, the armies of all the others ought to join in a body to restore it to reason. The avidity of Austria might be allowed by all the rest to slake itself in conquests in Asia, Africa, or America ! but no longer in Europe.

Fifty years later William PENN brought out his *Essay towards the present and future peace of Europe*, advocating an "expedient" which "was not only the design but glory" of Henri IV., and which the experience of the United Provinces had verified in principle. Penn was too modest in thus disavowing his originality. This is his much more elaborate scheme :

"If the Sovereign Princes of Europe who represent that society or independent state of men that was previous to the obligations of society, would, for the same reason that engaged men first into society, viz. love of peace and order, agree to meet by their stated deputies in a General Diet, Estates or Parliament, and there establish Rules of justice for sovereign Princes to observe one to another ; and thus to meet yearly, or once in two or three years at farthest, or as they shall see cause, and to be styled THE SOVEREIGN or IMPERIAL DIET, Parliament or State of EUROPE ; before which sovereign Assembly should be brought all differences depending between one sovereign and another, that cannot be made up by private embassies before the session begins ; and that if any of the Sovereignties that constitute these Imperial States

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shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof, and seek their remedy by arms, or delay their compliance beyond the time prefixt, in their resolutions, All the other Sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the Sovereignties that oblige their submission ; to be sure, Europe would quietly obtain the so much desired and needed peace."

Penn would assign representatives to each sovereign country in proportion to the estimated yearly value of the country. The language used should be Latin or French. Armies would be reduced ; or if unduly swollen, the Power so offending should be " obliged " to reform or reduce its forces, " lest any one by keeping up a great body of troops should surprise a neighbour. But a small force in every other sovereignty will certainly prevent this danger." Be it noted, and duly laid to heart by all Pacifists, that Penn, the Prince of Quakers, the famous Apostle of Peace, does not shrink from the idea of using Compulsion. He counts on armed force to a small extent in every State and proposes by combining all these forces to overwhelm the aggressor. Such is this Christian statesman's path to peace.

PERIOD XII

THE MORAVIAN AND METHODIST PREPARATION : THE FIRST THREE-QUARTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

§ 1. *Zinzendorf and Herrnhut*

The "Unbelieving Century," yet Fontal of Faith. Zinzendorf : his Religion of the Heart. Arrival of Moravian Refugees. The Founding of Herrnhut, a Lay Embodiment of Social Religion.

WE are approaching the Age of Revolution. The seventeenth century had witnessed, on the Continent, the tragic upheavals caused by the 'Thirty Years' War, and, in Great Britain, the Cromwellian Commonwealth succeeded after an interval by the Orange Revolution. But these were national, local and chiefly political. The eighteenth century ushered in a many-sided Revolution, religious, philosophical, and industrial as well as political, which swept over both hemispheres. It brought to birth a world-catastrophe. At first it seemed tame enough : a period of expanding trade, of oversea enterprise, of the quiet growth of science, and in general of secular progress. The great duel was indeed being waged between France and England for the Empire of the Western and of the Eastern world, with intermittent wars. But compared with the

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turmoil which had preceded it, it was a time of peace. Religion seemed no longer the directive or explosive centre of interest. It had come under the spell of intellectualism, whether of arid orthodoxy, or Deism, or Rationalism. In England, Presbyterianism had become Unitarian, philosophy had sunk into scepticism, the heroic self-sacrifice of the previous age had given place even in Christian circles to "enlightened Self-love." It has been dubbed, with courageous generalization, a century of doubt and disbelief—"the unbelieving century," "a sceptical world." It might seem as if the Unseen Leadership were suspended for a while, and its place taken by negative philosophies. Social Christianity appeared to be superseded by individualism and sentimentalism. But all the time there were being shaped the souls and societies which were to bear witness again to the social initiative of the Christ.

Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of ZINZENDORF (1700-1760), stands in the front rank of the social pioneers of the eighteenth century. Spener, the founder of Pietism, was his godfather. Left an orphan at four years of age, he was entrusted to the pious care of a grandmother. His was a lonely boyhood, but from his earliest days he put all his boyish passion into that personal intercourse with the Saviour which ruled his life. As the years passed, he found that this Intimate Friend was also Lord, the decisive Authority for faith and conduct, through Whom alone, as his early doubts taught him, God could be

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known. When he went to school at Halle, his genius for friendship displayed itself in many a little circle, and he longed to found some philanthropic agency such as Pietism had reared there. Next, being intended for the service of the State, he studied law at Wittenberg University. Then he went on his travels.

His characteristic love for all whose love centred in Christ led him into warm religious friendship, with the Reformed in Holland, and with Catholic prelates in Paris, as well as with those outside all churches. He found the essence of Christianity to consist in what he called "the Religion of the Heart," that practical relation of faith to Christ which was present in all creeds and churches and sects. "So long," he wrote in later life, "as the Pope adores Christ Crucified, and regards Him as God, one cannot, according to the definition of St. John, consider him as Anti-Christ." Thus the Count became at an early age an apostle of the Higher Catholicity. His growing experience of life led him to recognize in Jesus, not merely the ever-present Lover and the Commanding Lord, but the Crucified who died for our sins. When he was thirty-four years old, he explored afresh the testimony of Scripture to the expiatory sufferings of Christ, and he reported, "There was in the necessity of the death of Jesus and in that word 'ransom' a mystery of great profundity—a mystery before which philosophy halts dead without power to advance, but to

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which Revelation adheres in a manner that cannot be shaken." The Blood of the Lamb became his dominant theme in speech and hymn. Such was the character and faith round which was to be grouped one of the most fruitful of social experiments.

For after school and college and travels were over, he resolved, while accepting office under the State at Dresden, to settle down on his grandmother's estate at Berthelsdorf and to develop it on Christian lines. Both at Dresden and Berthelsdorf he formed, on the Pietist model, small fellowships of Christian friends, each an *ecclesiola* (little church within the Church), and with the spirit so roused, he founded on the estate a school for the children of the nobility—the first of those schools which, later, under the Moravian name have done so much for the Christian education of Europe.

These little groups became the nucleus of a much wider social venture. This sprang from a wonderful coincidence. Away in Moravia was a carpenter, Christian David by name, who was born a Roman Catholic, but whom the reading of the New Testament turned into a convinced Evangelical. He taught his fellow countrymen, and roused in many of them a revival spirit. But no liberty was allowed them to practise their new faith in their native land, and they resolved on setting out to find a new home in freedom. David had, in his travels, met with Zinzendorf, and the carpenter was very much impressed with the Count. He urged the little

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party of Evangelical refugees to go with him to the Count's estate at Berthelsdorf. With him as leader, they arrived during the Count's absence, and were given temporary shelter. Then Zinzendorf came, and found ready to his hand the living materials for a new society, such as he had dreamed of. Later came members of the old Community of Brethren, the church which Huss had glorified, but which had, it was supposed, been effectively stamped out by Catholic coercion. With these fugitives from Moravia, Zinzendorf set about building a village which was to be a community animated and dominated by the Christ Himself. No colony of celibates, in mediæval or modern times, was ever founded with a more single-eyed devotion to the Unseen Lord, than that which inspired this group of fugitive families in Saxony. It was given the name HERRENHUT (the Lord's watch-and-ward). Of all the embodiments of Social Christianity which history records, few if any have exercised a greater influence on mankind, or with slighter alloy of evil, than this little Saxon village. Let John Wesley describe Herrenhut as he found it in 1738, sixteen years after its founding :

“ It contains about a hundred houses, built on a rising ground with evergreen woods on two sides, gardens and cornfields on the others, and high hills at a small distance. It has one long street, through which the great road from Zittau to Lobau goes. Fronting the middle of this street is the orphan-house ; in the lower part of which is the apothecary's

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shop ; in the upper, the chapel, capable of containing six or seven hundred people. Another row of houses runs at a small distance from either end of the orphan-house, which accordingly divides the rest of the town (beside the long street) into two squares. At the east end of it is the Count's house ; a small plain building like the rest ; having a large garden behind it well laid out, not for show, but for the use of the community."

This Gemeine was a community of LAYMEN. Within the Lutheran parish of Berthelsdorf, it formed an *ecclesiola*, a cluster of religious friendship, held together by living touch with the Unseen Christ. The basis of their worship was the Hour for Song, conducted by laymen, as brothers among brothers ; lay also were the elders and their assistants for the oversight of the health and morals of the village ; even the chief elder was a layman. The Moravians found to their joy in the arrangement of the Count the continuance of their tradition which for a hundred years had been kept alive by laymen.

The family life of the fugitives having suffered during their wanderings, the Count arranged separate residences for the young men and for the young women ; likewise for the boys and girls ; and took care to train them all under suitable guidance in the exalted aims of the Community. Great importance was attached to the schools. So was built up in time a strong family life ; marriage was con-

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sidered primarily an act for the benefit of the Community. The ancient love-feast was revived at Herrnhut. Another remarkable fact is that this was a colony of working-people. Whatever they had been previously, they settled down at Herrnhut as in an industrial colony. They were all subject to a strict ethical discipline which was made beautiful by their religious fellowship. The Count as lord of the manor was president.

§ 2. *The Social Missionary Church*

The Moravian Church revived. A Missionary Church. Stations planted over the World, each a Social Experiment. The Church as Credit Bank. Other Economic Developments. The Count's Higher Catholicity: the Secret of his Life.

In this Community of Brothers (Brüdergemeine) the Moravian Church was born anew, August 13th, 1727. In the service and especially in the Lord's Supper, there was an intensely vivid experience of the Presence of the Saviour. "From that day," said Nitschmann (afterwards a bishop), "Herrnhut became a living Church of Jesus Christ: on it the Brothers renewed their solemn vows to serve the Lord at all times, everywhere, in all ways, at all costs and risks." So, in the very institution of the new Moravian Church, the creative presence and act of the Unseen Christ were manifest. And the responsive vows of the Brothers were nobly redeemed.

A visit of the Count with some of the Brothers to

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a Royal coronation at Copenhagen led to two demands for service, one from the frozen coast of Greenland, the other from the tropical clime of the West Indies. Zinzendorf, who from youth up had cherished missionary ambitions, heard of the forlorn venture of the Norwegian Egède who had worked apparently without fruit for fifteen years in Greenland ; and a negro, Anton by name, belonging to another Count, begged that his slave-sister in St. Thomas might be taught religion. Both claims were put before the community at Herrenhut, to whom Anton came on a special journey ; and to both fields Brothers offered to go. The would-be missionaries were subjected to a year's testing and then sent.

They went on a venture of faith. The pair bound for the West Indies set out with no more than 18 shillings in the pocket of each. They went, without having studied at any college or University. They were untrained laymen. Their expenses were slight ; they being inured to simplicity and thriftiness. They supported themselves largely by their own hands. Other liabilities were met by the church at home, or by gifts from sympathisers abroad. Within ten years this village of exiles, about 600 in number, had established missions in the West Indies, in South America, Surinam, Greenland, among the American Indians, in Lapland, Tartary, Algiers, Guinea, South Africa and Ceylon. In two decades, as Warneck has said, the little Brother-Community had called into life more missions than the whole Protestant Church

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(of Germany) had done in two centuries ! The Moravians worked as workers among the workers, and as companions in toil evangelized the natives. And their converts they formed into communities modelled on the home-village. In time they had their own ships for trading and missionary purposes. Of the printing press lavish use had been made from the very first.

When Zinzendorf had seriously impoverished himself by his generous support of the work at home and abroad, he turned the Moravian Church into a credit-society. Every station was thus a spore of Social Christianity ; and not a little was done by the Brothers to claim the whole of economic activity as part of the service of Christ. Their pledge of absolute obedience to the directing Lord was nobly fulfilled ; and the world-wide results of the devotion of these poor uncultured working men are proof of the Unseen Power that not only directed but executed the task. From its re-birth at Herrnhut the Moravian Church has been essentially a missionary church, with personal and social evangelism inextricably intertwined.

The work, so novel, so daring, was honoured with the inevitable opposition. As theologians and churchmen, Lutherans felt themselves affronted by this aggressive Community of ill-trained Brothers. The charge of setting up a new sect weighed so heavily with the Elector of Saxony against Zinzendorf as to lead to the Count's banishment from

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Herrenhut. Few things show more clearly his statesmanship than the way in which he not only overcame these objections, but actually turned them to account in the furtherance of his great schemes. In the various countries of Europe there were the national churches. There was, chiefly in missionary stations round the world, the Moravian Church, now Episcopally organized. And there were, all over, the Brother-Communities. How were they to be harmonized? Zinzendorf decided that in each nation the Brother-Communities should be loyal adherents of the State-church—Lutheran among the Lutherans, Reformed among the Reformed; and in the Mission Stations, Moravian; everywhere strong in the Religion of the Heart; everywhere recognizing as their Chief Elder the all-directing Christ; and everywhere promoting among the particular churches a sense of their unity in the one Universal Church of Christ. So he himself was ordained a Lutheran pastor, and then a Moravian Bishop. So he maintained in every land the Brother-*Ecclesiola* within the local churches. So he served his great dream of the Higher Catholicity. In the very name "the Brothers," he and his companions not only linked themselves with the Moravian past, but with the "Brothers" seen in fitful glimpses from as far back as the thirteenth century. He held that there had always been such groups of Brothers within the Church all through its history. In London, where he secured the official recognition of the Moravian

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Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he died in 1760. In the first half of "the sceptical century" he had filled the world with his witness to the living leadership of the Unseen Christ, and had flung a net-work of Social Christianity round the globe.

Once, when overtaken on a homeward voyage by a terrific storm off the Scillies, he reassured the captain by telling him that the storm would pass in two hours; and it did so. Asked to explain, he said :

"For twenty years now I have lived in intimate intercourse with my Saviour. Now when I find myself in peril, the first thing I do is carefully to inquire whether it is my fault that I am in these circumstances. If it is, I cast myself at the Saviour's feet and ask Him to forgive me. This He always does and often He reveals to me the issue of the affair. If He does not deign to reveal it, I keep calm; for I am sure that it is better for me not to know. But in this instance He was pleased to let me know that the storm would last for two hours longer."

Here is laid bare the secret of the Count's life—utterly unintelligible to the fashionable philosophers of the time, but supremely intelligible to the believer.

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§ 3. *John Wesley*

Deep Influence of the Moravians upon him. His Visit to Herrenhut. A Social Christian in an Individualistic Age. His Work for Orphans and the Unemployed. His "Lending-stock." His Medical Missions. His Faith Healing. A Civic Reformer. An Educationalist. Wesleyan Work of Social Integration. Emanuel Swedenborg and the New Jerusalem Church.

From this fontal soul and its social well-head in Saxony sprang the spiritual forces which impelled a yet vaster movement. JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791), clergyman of the Church of England, father of the Holy Club at Oxford, leader in its study of the Greek Testament as in its visitation of the prison, was the soul of the "Methodists" in the University; but had not then attained the truth which made him one of the greatest forces in history. On his voyage to Georgia, he found among his fellow passengers a number of Moravian missionaries whose gentle, humble and obliging behaviour much impressed him. During a great storm, which brought the fear of death painfully home to him, he was struck by the calm confidence of the Moravians. Evidently they had something which he lacked. He witnessed the ordination of one of their bishops in Georgia and felt himself back in Apostolic times. On his return to London, he had much converse with friends from Herrenhut, notably with Peter Böhler; by whom he "was clearly convicted of unbelief." He was more and more amazed by what Böhler told him of the fruits of living faith; and when Böhler left for America, a parting letter from him "refreshed"

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Wesley. Wesley was still in the dark, but felt that God had prepared Böhler for him, though he looked on the Moravian message as "a new Gospel."

At last, May 24th, 1738, at the meeting in Aldersgate Street, during the reading of Luther's preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the Light came to him ; his "heart was strangely warmed"; he "felt he did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation." He, that is, appropriated the faith which had long been pressed upon him by the Moravian Brethren, and so became the greatest Evangelist of the modern world. Within a fortnight he set off to Herrenhut. On the way he met Count Zinzendorf at Marienbad, in a household consisting of ninety persons of many nationalities, and was much moved with fresh proofs of the power of faith. At Halle he saw the great orphanage with its 650 boarders and 3,000 pupils. He spent twelve days in Herrenhut, conversing much with Christian David, "the first planter" of the church, and attending the love feast of the married men. As he left the little town, Wesley confessed : "I would gladly have spent my life here," but that his Master called him to work in another part of His vineyard. Three years later, after a long conversation with Böhler, he writes : "I marvel how I refrained from joining these men. I scarce ever see any of them but my heart burns within me. I long to be with them ; and yet I am kept from them." There can be no manner of doubt it was from Herrenhut, the social embodi-

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ment of Zinzendorf's faith, that there came the inspiration of the Methodist Movement which now numbers over thirty million adherents in various parts of the globe.

The age of John Wesley was an age of Individualism. He was supremely concerned about the salvation of the individual soul. He was the prophet of personal evangelism, and Methodism has too often been identified with religious individualism. But Wesley was too close to the heart of the Christian faith to be other than a Social Christian. He built an orphan-house. He was deeply concerned about the welfare of the poor. He pilloried the objection "They are poor because they are idle" as "wickedly, devilishly false." He was active in providing work for the Unemployed. In December, 1740, he wrote :

"After several methods proposed for employing those who were out of business, we determined to make a trial of one which several of our brethren recommended to us. Our aim was, with as little expense as possible, to keep them at once from want and from idleness ; in order to which, we took twelve of the poorest, and a teacher, into the society room, where they were employed for four months, till spring came on, in carding and spinning of cotton. And the design answered : they were employed and maintained with very little more than the produce of their labour.

Next May he reminded the United Societies that

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he " had done what in him lay to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to employ the poor, and to visit the sick ; but was not alone sufficient for these things " ; he therefore urged all to bring what clothes they could spare and contribute a penny a week for the poor and sick. He was specially desirous of employing all " the women who are out of business and desire it in knitting : to these we will first give the common price for what work they do ; and then add, according as they need." Twelve persons were appointed to inspect and visit and report to a meeting every week. In 1748 he wrote :

" I made a public collection towards a LENDING-stock for the poor. Our rule is, to lend only twenty shillings at once, which is repaid weekly within three months. I began this about a year and a half ago : thirty pounds sixteen shillings were then collected ; and out of this, no less than two hundred and fifty-five persons have been relieved in eighteen months."

Wesley also carried on what we now call a Medical Mission to the poor. He reported of one year that about 300 persons had received medicines occasionally, about 100 had regularly taken them ; more than ninety were entirely cured. Nor was he afraid of employing new remedies. In 1756 he ordered several persons to be electrified who were suffering from various diseases ; some of whom found an immediate and some a gradual cure. An hour a day was spent on this work, which in two or three years increased so much as to require several

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centres. Hundreds received unspeakable good ; not one received any hurt. And scattered throughout his Journal are many instances of Spiritual Healing—miracles of instantaneous recovery. Wesley is not open to the charge of caring only for the souls of men and having no thought for their bodies. He was also a civic reformer : so insisted on the purity of elections as to deter his followers from either eating or drinking at the expense of candidates, and made those who had received bribes return them. He was severe upon smuggling : he found in Cornwall well-nigh one and all in his societies buying or selling “uncustomed goods.” He created an uproar in Bristol by preaching against Slavery. He denounced the Slave Trade as the “ execrable sum of all villainies.” He preached for “ the glorious design ” of the Humane Society. He made a collection for the starving and half naked French prisoners. True, he spoke of the fathers of the United States as “ the poor deluded rebels in America ” and did what he could to quench the flame of resentment against the King in England. But he was active in promoting schools for children, even from his Oxford days, and at great expense to himself brought out books at popular prices to enable the people to read good stuff. He struck a note that has vibrated in the hearts of many social workers since, when he cried : “ Why do not all the rich that fear God constantly visit the poor ? ” On himself visiting Marshalsea prison, he described it

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as "a picture of Hell." If all Methodists throughout the world had been as active as their founder in furthering Social Christianity, the world would now have been a very different place from what it is. When Wesley died, his organized following numbered on both sides of the Atlantic 120,000. In the British Isles there were 119 circuits and mission stations. These, with classes and class-leaders, added to such parochial and pastoral organization as previously existed a new reticulation of social ties, and, what was of immense importance, among the new industrial orders. Thus the social integration of Great Britain was vastly furthered. The great army of Methodist "local preachers" created and voiced, as never before, a popular consciousness. But as we shall see, the collective spirit of Wesley found unexpected vent in the founders and leaders of the modern Labour Movement.

Emanuel SWEDENBORG (1688-1772), a universal genius, far in advance of the science of his time, anticipating the Nebular theory of La Place and the modern physiology of the brain, sketching a flying machine, curing smoky chimneys, devising what became the Gothenberg liquor laws, had by his forty-eighth year attained a position of great eminence in scholarship, science, politics, when in consequence of "the manifestation of the Lord to him in person" he gave up all other pursuits and devoted himself to religion. John Wesley declared the visions of the seer to be sheer madness, but there

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can be no doubt about his whole-souled devotion to Jesus Christ, and his immediate access to Him. The New Jerusalem Church which sprang from his teachings produced some of the most ardent advocates for the abolition of slavery and some of the early pioneers of popular education, initiating free day schools at a time when the idea was quite a novelty. In these ways at least Swedenborg contributed to the realization of Social Christianity.

PERIOD XIII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION FORWARD : SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, 1776-1923

§ 1. *The Political Revolutions*

American Declaration of Independence: its Real Sources. The French Revolution, in Positive Content of English Origin. American Sources of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

THE era of political Revolution opened in America. The Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1776) which called the United States into being began with the assertion : " We hold these truths to be self-evident, That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness, That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." No doubt the minds of the framers were under the influence of the ideas concerning Government only by consent of the governed, to which Hooker and Hobbes and Locke had given utterance, and even of the covenant or contract by which it was supposed Government had come into being.

But the decisive fact which lay at the back of the Declaration was what took place on board the

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Mayflower more than a century and a half previously, when the Pilgrim Fathers did "solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one another covenant and combine (themselves) together into a civil body politic." They *did* the thing : they left others to theorize about it. The robust faith of the stalwart pioneers was less evident in the Declaration of their posterity, but the Rights declared are still based on the creative and constitutive Act of God. The soul of America, as Carlyle avers, was in that *Mayflower* company ; and now the soul was taking to itself a body of dimensions and potencies whereof the whole world must make note. The purpose of the Unseen Director which entered into the hearts of men in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and in the prayer council of Army leaders at Windsor Castle now produced its tremendous consequences in the revolt of the American Colonies and the establishment of the United States.

The French Revolution, of all political overturns the most notorious and most far-resounding, was a further outworking of the same Initial Impulse. Its destructive effect, its Terror, which have panic-struck mankind, were indeed occasioned by the horrible corruptions in the Church and State of France. They were the outcome of centuries of oppression, political and spiritual. They were the awful warning, inscribed in letters of fire, of what comes from the lack of genuine Social Christianity. But the positive, the constructive inspiration of the

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French Revolution was derived from English sources. From the fire kindled at Bunker's Hill came the torch which set Europe ablaze.

In the deeper and more decisive world of ideas, it was the English principles which lay behind the Puritan Rebellion, the Orange Revolution, and American Independence, that dominated the affirmative thought of revolutionary France. The Social Contract of Rousseau was a fiction developed consciously or unconsciously from Hobbes : the real and dynamic Social Contract was that signed on board the *Mayflower*. In the early stages of the Revolution, a positive Anglo-mania prevailed in France, extending even to the cut of a riding habit ! English precedents were eagerly studied—and followed. The famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, with which the French Constitution of August 4, 1789 began, was in essence derived from America. As Georg Jellinek has shown by convincing parallels, it was modelled on the Bills of Rights or Declarations made by the several American States before or after their rupture with Great Britain. The references to the Creator, frequent in the American documents, are not found in the French. Even the " Compact "—the legal fiction then dear to the heart of constitution-builders—on which several American States base their case, is also absent ; though it might have been expected from the followers of Rousseau. But the substance is of American origin.

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We are tracing American, and ultimately English, ideas when we follow the great assertions of the French Declaration : " Men are born and remain free and in rights equal ; The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man—the rights of liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation ; Liberty consists in being able to do anything which does not harm another. The Law has only right to forbid what is harmful to society. The Law is the expression of the general will, made directly or indirectly by all citizens, the same for all, and opening careers to all according to their several ability and character. Every man is presumed innocent until he is proved to be guilty:" Freedom of opinion, religion, speaking, writing, printing ; and so forth. And there were tragic imitations of what the English had done. It is a question whether without the precedent of the trial and execution of Charles I., Louis XVI. would have been tried and beheaded as he was.

So we see how Social Christianity works in this very mixed world of men. The Mandate from the Unseen which burned with electric force through the hearts of the Independents of the American Migration and of the Royal Execution in the seventeenth century, led to civic explosion after civic explosion, until it shook France and the world in the Great Revolution. In its positive content the French

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Revolution was a boon to mankind. It gave the French peasantry a freedom and a happiness they had never known before ; and it has not deprived them of their faith ; the French peasant is, as a rule, devout and Catholic still.

With the instinct and ability of the first-class journalist among the nations, France took up the Democratic idea which had been realized in English deed and expressed in English speech, and blazoned it in tones of thunder, so that all the world should hear and understand. The work of Oliver Cromwell and of George Washington never found the world-audience and world-appreciation which revolutionary France has commanded. Picturesquely, it destroyed the last fragments of the Holy Roman Empire—that unholy compound of Christian pretensions and Pagan Force ; while affirming the Rights of Man, it demolished the last claims of the Roman Cæsar. And it inscribed all over the land as the national motto, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, which so far back as Lactantius (d. 340) were principles derived from the Christian faith.

The evil effects of the French Revolution have been trumpeted far and wide. They have been the stock-in-trade of apologists for tyranny ever since. The frenzies and orgies of the Red Terror have been vividly impressed upon the imagination of the world. Its wild cry, “No Master, No God !” merely echoed the negation of government and the negation of God which preceded and produced the frightful

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overturn. And the State-building influence which came from Geneva in the sixteenth century was a profoundly significant contrast to the State-building influence which came from Geneva in the eighteenth. Rousseau's was practically without God ; Calvin's was God all over. And it was the Power that wrought through Calvin that gave the positive dynamic to the Revolution which Rousseau's paper salvation would have utterly wrecked. Carlyle has described the French Revolution as truth clad in hell-fire. The hell-fire was the spontaneous combustion of feudal and Papal putrescence. The truth came through English channels from the Initiator and Arbiter of human history.

The 150 years under survey in this period, cannot, for our purpose, be presented as one continuous and consecutive narrative. The record of social progress under Christian inspiration will be more readily followed and grasped, if described in separate sections on the great movements which traverse the period, and have culminated in our own time.

§ 2. *Abolition of Slave Trade and Slavery*

Its Manifest Inspiration. Quaker Initiative. John Woolman. Thomas Clarkson : Lady Middleton ; his Mandate. William Wilberforce : his Definite "Vocation" ; his Call to T. Fowell Buxton ; a Ransom of £20,000,000. Prophetic Literature in America. W. Lloyd Garrison and the *Liberator*. Final Triumph. 40,000,000 Russian Serfs emancipated. Motive.

Good and evil strangely jostle and mingle in the evolution of mankind. It will be remembered that

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the desire of the good Bishop Lasca Casas to save his Indians from being enslaved and done to death in the mines led to his suggesting to Charles V. the licensed introduction of negro slaves into the West Indies. The very same year in which the Pilgrim Fathers came over from Holland to Plymouth Rock, a Dutch ship landed in Virginia the first negro slaves imported into British America ; and of the two influences thus set moving in 1620 on the American Continent, it took two centuries and a half for the Northern to overcome the Southern. The licence to import negroes into America given first by Charles V. to a Fleming, was eventually transferred to Great Britain, which became far and away the chief carrier of slaves across the Atlantic ; as it later was the power most resolute in suppressing the infamous traffic.

The agents of suppression were numerous and varied ; there were economic conditions also at work ; but has there ever been in modern times a movement so manifestly inspired and directed by the Unseen Christ as that which effected the abolition of slave trade and slavery ? The colossal crime against humanity was attacked and overthrown by those who were impelled by the immediate initiative of the Son of Man. The first body of His followers to be mobilized in this campaign was the Society of Friends. As early as 1671 George Fox bade the meetings in Barbados to treat the negroes as they would wish to be treated themselves in like case, to

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deal gently with them, and after certain years of servitude to make them free. In 1696 the German Quakers in Philadelphia declared slavery to be contrary to the principles of the Christian religion. The Quakers in England in 1727 said the slave trade was "not a commendable or allowed practice."

Among Quaker pioneers of African freedom, the foremost place must be given to the American Saint, John WOOLMAN (1720-1772). The son of a Friend, when eighteen years of age he "felt the judgments of God in his soul, like a consuming fire." After many struggles and abasements, "I felt," he wrote, "the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires." The call to his life work came suddenly in his 23rd year. Though by trade a tailor, he was engaged as shopman with a baker and general shopkeeper. He was asked to make out a bill of sale for his master who was selling a negro woman to a customer, who was also a Friend. He obeyed, though with great uneasiness of mind, and told both buyer and seller that he "believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion." So he began his lifelong witness against slavery. He spoke in the meetings of his Society, taking "heed lest, while he was standing to speak, his own will should get uppermost." He so humbled and abased himself under the Higher Pressure that in time he was able "to stand as a trumpet through which the Lord speaks."

As conscious spokesman of Christ, he went to

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meeting after meeting, to household after household, and testified with all tenderness to slave-owning Friends of their duty. Many Quakers owned large numbers of slaves. But such was the Power that spoke through him, that gradually the whole Society of Friends in America was won over to his view. The yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania led the way : similar Meetings in other Colonies followed ; slave owners and traders who refused to comply were, after much kindly admonition, cut off from the Society. Those who had freed their slaves and declined to compensate the negroes for their labour while slaves, in the amounts fixed by committees of the Society, were also excluded. The recalcitrants were few. By 1784, twelve years after Woolman's death in England, the American Society of Friends was entirely freed from participation in the crime of slavery. The Society in England condemned the slave-trade in 1758 and three years later excluded from membership all those Friends who were concerned in it. The body thus purified formed in 1783 an association—the first of its kind—" for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave trade on the coast of Africa."

But the two men with whom this great reform is for ever associated were neither of them members of the Society of Friends. Thomas CLARKSON (1760–1846), son of the headmaster of Wisbeach grammar school, trained at St. Paul's and Cambridge, had his

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attention first called to the matter by the academic ambition which prompted him to write a Prize Essay on the question whether it is right to make men slaves against their will. Reading for this essay, he was profoundly impressed with the enormities disclosed, and felt himself impelled to bring out his Latin essay in English. His inquiries brought him into touch with Quakers and others already roused on the subject. He felt himself Providentially directed to them. As he went on he saw the finger of Providence beginning to be discernible.

Teston Hall, near Maidstone, the seat of Sir Charles and Lady Middleton, became a centre of intense interest in this question. The Moravian missionary Latrobe who was their guest insisted later that "the abolition of the Slave Trade was, under God, and when the time was come, the work of a *woman*, even Lady Middleton." Clarkson was staying at the house, and one evening promised Sir Charles and his lady that "he was ready to devote himself to the cause." Next morning brought misgivings. He went into the woods to think it out. His promise meant the giving of his whole time to the work. It meant the abandonment of his career in the Church, where he had brilliant prospects. Large sums of money would be needed to carry on the agitation. He tells us : "I was more than two hours in solitude under this painful conflict. At length I yielded, not because I saw any reasonable prospect in my new undertaking (for all cool-headed

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and cool-hearted men would have pronounced against it), but in obedience, I believe, to a Higher Power." So he records the transmission of the Mandate which dominated his life.

This same year at Teston Hall laid claim to the other great career involved in the movement. Latrobe reports that one morning at breakfast, Lady Middleton, greatly shocked by what she had heard of the horrors of the slave trade, urged her husband to bring the matter up in Parliament, of which he was a member. Sir Charles, though agreeing with the need of Parliamentary action, declined as himself unsuited for the task, but promised his strenuous support for any member who would act. Then "some one mentioned William Wilberforce who had lately come out. Lady Middleton prevailed on Sir Charles immediately to write to him and propose the subject." It was to this fact that Latrobe referred in assigning the initiation of the movement to a Woman : she "was the honoured instrument of selecting and rousing that noble champion." Wilberforce replied that he felt the great importance of the movement, thought himself unequal to the task, but would not positively decline it : would see the Middletons on his return to town. Probably on both reformers, the hostess of Teston Hall exerted just that shaping influence which only a woman's hand can impart.

William WILBERFORCE (1759-1833), son of a Hull merchant, owed his earliest impulses to religion

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to a "Methodistic" uncle at Wimbledon with whom he stayed for two years as a boy. He was afterwards carefully trained in gaiety and pleasure. A hint of his future came out when he was fourteen and still at school. He sent a letter to the editor of a York newspaper "in condemnation of the odious traffic in human flesh." After studying at Cambridge, he entered Parliament in 1780 as member for Hull, and again four years later as member for Yorkshire, where his wonderful eloquence gained him the seat. Next year he "became serious" and gave up the fashionable gaieties in which he had indulged. Finally, in the Spring of the eventful year 1786, he says "the promises and offers of the Gospel produced in me something of a settled peace of conscience. I devoted myself to the service of my God and Saviour." Already six years before he "had been strongly interested in the West Indian slaves," and he expressed the hope that he should some time or other redress their wrongs. Lady Middleton's application was, he said, "just one of many impulses all giving my mind the same direction."

After making many inquiries into the subject, he went and talked over the matter with Pitt, who was an intimate friend of his, and with whom he had been quite frank about his religious views. "At length," he says, "I well remember, after a conversation in the open air at the root of an old tree at Holwood just above the steep descent into the vale of Keston, I resolved to give notice on a fit occasion

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in the House of Commons of my intention to bring the subject forward." An inscription on a stone seat beside that old tree attests to this day the momentous decision. Wilberforce had no doubt now about his vocation. He said "God Almighty has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners."

So the Great Twin Brethren of this humane crusade were launched by Divine orders on their historic career. Clarkson was more active in the country; Wilberforce in Parliament. With the aid of innumerable friends in all classes, and backed by the enthusiasm of all the churches, as conscious executants of the will of Christ, the Act abolishing the slave trade received the Royal Assent on Lady Day 1807.

The same year and the same month the United States passed an Act forbidding the importation of slaves. Denmark under the Christian inspiration of Count Reventlow not only abolished her own domestic serfdom, but put an end to the slave trade throughout her territory. Sweden did the same in 1813; Holland in 1814; France in 1818. Finally by international agreement the trade was declared to be everywhere unlawful in 1830, England "compensating" Portugal with £300,000, and Spain with £400,000. Great Britain and France undertook together the right of search, and American and British squadrons cruised together off the West coast of Africa. Thenceforward the Red Cross on

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the White Ensign in every sea—to quote Whittier—
“prophesied salvation to the slave.”

The next great triumph of Social Christianity was the abolition in British dominions of slavery itself. No surer or more convincing proof could be adduced of the Christian spirit which led in this movement than the letter in which William Wilberforce solemnly invited Thomas Fowell Buxton to join him in the task. Buxton (1786–1845) after a strenuous course at Trinity College, Dublin, married a sister of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry and to support himself took charge of his uncles' brewery. Roused to a serious view of life by a sermon in his twenty-fifth year, he was supremely grateful for a dangerous illness two years later which brought him Evangelic certainty of peace. He won distinction by pleading the cause of the Spitalfields weavers—drawing £5,000 from the King for them and a vastly larger sum from the general public—and by his advocacy of better prison discipline. He entered Parliament in his thirty-second year, and so acquitted himself there as to make the veteran of Slave-trade Abolition write him thus in 1821 :

“For many years I have been longing to bring forward that great subject, the condition of the negro slaves in our Transatlantic Colonies and the best means of providing for their moral and social improvement and ultimately for the advancement to the rank of a free peasantry. . . . I can no longer

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forbear resorting to you and earnestly conjuring you to take most seriously into consideration the expediency of devoting yourself to this *blessed service*. Let me entreat you to form an alliance with me, that may truly be termed holy, and if I should be unable to commence the war . . . I entreat you to prosecute it. In forming a partnership of this sort with you, I cannot doubt that I should be doing an act highly pleasing to God and beneficial to my fellow-creatures. . . . If it be His will, may He render you an instrument of extensive usefulness, and above all may He give you the disposition to say at all times 'Lord, what wouldest Thou have me to do or to suffer?' Look to Him through Christ for wisdom and strength. And while active in business and fervent in spirit upon earth, may you have your conversation in Heaven and your affection set on things above. There may we at last meet, together with all that we most love, and spend an eternity of holiness and happiness, complete and unassailable."

His sister Priscilla Gurney almost with her dying breath laid the same great charge upon him, pressing his hand and saying "The poor dear slaves!" Buxton took a year and a half to make up his mind, and then, in the spirit of both adjurations, carried the movement through to victory in eleven years. He was the acknowledged leader. The Anti-slavery Society was started in 1823. The Christian conscience of the nation was roused and mobilized. The churches were active and ardent. The first Reformed Parliament gave effective expression to the people's

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purpose ; and the Act abolishing slavery throughout the British dominions received the Royal Assent August 28th, 1833. Wilberforce died a month previously, but the measure was then safe, and he cried, " I thank God that I should have lived to see the day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery."

A generation more was needed to free the other half of the English-speaking people from the continuance of slavery. Here, again, however timid and time-serving the Churches may have been, it was the inspiration consciously derived from Christ that was the driving power of the demand for emancipation. The challenge of this great organized crime, flagrantly defiant of the political and religious faith of America, brought out one of the noblest and most distinctive characteristics of American literature—the note of the Christian prophet. Possibly it grew out of the intense preoccupation of New England with the Hebrew Scriptures. But however explained, the fact remains that there is no poetry in the world known to me that so exactly follows on the burning utterances of the Prophets of Israel, sublimed to the tender humanity of Jesus, as the Anti-slavery poems of Longfellow, Whittier, Whitman and Lowell. They are the message of the modern Christian Amos or Christian Isaiah, and are heard ringing wherever the Social Gospel is spoken in English. Nor was the pre-

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dictive element wanting. James Russell Lowell wrote :

Out from the land of bondage 't is decreed our slaves shall go,
And signs to us are offered, as erst to Pharaoh :
If we are blind, their exodus, like Israel's of yore,
Through a Red Sea is doomed to be, whose surges are of gore.

Some of the most honoured names in American history are associated with the colossal struggle of will and word, and later sword, to liberate the enslaved, but the acknowledged leader of the movement was neither a statesman, nor soldier, nor divine. It was a man who began life in the humblest circumstances. Son of a drunken sailor, but of a devout and gifted mother, with little schooling, put to shoemaking at 9 years of age and later to cabinet-making, William Lloyd GARRISON (1805-1879), when only 13 years, began as a compositor his connection with the Press. Even as a boy, his good voice led him to join the choir in a Baptist church, in which his mother was an active member, and she later reflected with pride that "Lloyd was a fine boy, a churchgoer and likely to be a complete Baptist."

But the call to his life-work came from a Quaker. After starting the abortive *Free Press* (noteworthy as bringing Whittier before the public), and after joining with a Baptist city missionary in founding the first Temperance journal, he won some repute by editing the *Journal of the Times* with the three aims of temperance, emancipation and peace. Then Ben-

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jamin Lundy, a Quaker saddler, doughty advocate of the abolition of slavery, laid hold of him, and fired him with the same passion. Together they edited *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* at Baltimore, where Garrison's attacks on the local slave trade as "domestic piracy" landed him in gaol for seven weeks until his fine was paid by a friend. Then he went to Boston, where he had previously addressed the Congregational Societies on the duty of abolition. Now however all the churches were closed against him ; and only by the courtesy of a group of declared infidels was he able to secure a hall in Boston for the delivery of three lectures.

He tried the leaders of the city life, in politics, religion and commerce, but they would have nothing to do with the movement. Dr. Lyman Beecher who attended his lecture told him that if he "would give up his fanatical notions and be guided by the clergy, they would make him the Wilberforce of America." A Unitarian minister who heard Garrison said : "that is a Providential man ; he is a prophet ; he will shake our nation to the centre, but he will shake slavery out of it." But he was a prophet without honour, though not without the prophet's higher certainties. While in gaol he had written a poem, in which occurs the significant line, "Think it an honour with thy Lord to bleed." Confident of his cause, he founded at the beginning of 1831, in partnership with a friend, but without capital or constituency, the *Liberator*. It was the uncom-

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promising advocate of immediate emancipation and of unsparing attack on slavery. The Mayor of Boston "ferreted out the paper and its editor ; his office was an obscure hole." Yet there, says Russell Lowell, "the freedom of a race began." Lowell goes on :

Help came but slowly ; surely no man yet
Put lever to the heavy world with less ;
What need of help ? He knew how types were set,
He had a dauntless spirit, and a press.

The paper's motto was " Our country is the world, our countrymen are mankind." He and his partner, in their poverty, lived on bread and milk and fruit ; they slept on the floor of their office ; they faced many privations and menaces. Next year the New England Anti-slavery Society was formed and in the following year one for America as a whole. In the interval, Garrison had gone over to Great Britain as the Act of Emancipation was passing through Parliament. He was received by Buxton. He saw Wilberforce before his death, whose blend of gentleness with moral might suggested to him Christ and the Apostles.

Returning home, Garrison could not but have felt the contrast between the British Churches solid in support of Abolition, and the American Churches, to whom he had looked as the proper instrument for the conversion of public opinion, but had looked in vain. So at an Anti-slavery convention, Garrison moved that the American Church, by its undis-

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guised sanction and support of slavery, had shown itself no Church of Christ, but the "foe of freedom, humanity and pure religion." He denounced it as a "cage of unclean birds and a synagogue of Satan." At the same time he gave up the old mechanical theory of Biblical inspiration and the current Sabbatarianism, and was gleefully proclaimed by his opponents as an "infidel." He scornfully replied, "I am an 'infidel' because I *do* believe in consecrating all time and body and soul unto God, in a spiritual church, the Head of which is Christ." He fearlessly advocated other extreme views, defended Woman's Rights, Non-resistance—"all governments are Anti-Christ"—total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco ; but amid many defections still remained banner-bearer of the Abolitionists.

Gradually the conscience of the nation came over to his side. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, in her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and her brother Henry Ward Beecher, in his powerful pulpit eloquence, rendered enormous service to the cause. Then the Slave-States, which had once dominated the Union, saw, on Abraham Lincoln becoming President, that their only hope lay in secession. "The cannon thundered in the South" and the terrible Civil War ended in the Constitutional abolition of Slavery throughout the United States. Economic conditions were undoubtedly involved and potent. But the victory was one of the Christian conscience—fought and won in the Puritan spirit. And of that

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conscience Garrison had been throughout the leading exponent. Let his poem speak out his heart's faith :

Thy will is mine, and let Thy will be done !
Thy light and love my spirit sweetly fill :
Following with zeal the footsteps of Thy Son,
With martyrs I rejoice the Christian race to run.

In the last number but one of the *Liberator*, the same faith rings out in notes of jubilation : " Hail ! all nations, tribes, kindreds and peoples, made of one blood, interested in a common Redemption, heirs of a common immortal destiny. Hail ! angels in glory and spirits of just men made perfect ; tune your harps anew, singing, Great and marvellous are Thy works, Lord God Almighty ! " With that pæan may fitly end the triumph of Social Christianity over negro slavery. Emancipation followed in Cuba by an Act of 1870, in Brazil by an Act of 1888.

While slavery was being abolished amid the thunders of war by Western Democracy, forty millions of Russian serfs were liberated in peace by a stroke of the Eastern Autocrat's pen (1861). The contrast is striking, but perhaps a little misleading. For it was the Crimean War which broke down the iron system of Nicholas I. and turned the Imperial energy to the long neglected questions of domestic reform. Of these a solution of the problem of serfdom was more than overdue. Whittier commits himself to the statement that " it was in a degree at least the influence of Stephen Grellet and William

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Allen," two noted Quakers who entered into the most intimate religious relations with the Tsar, "that drew the attention of Alexander I. of Russia to the importance of taking measures for the abolition of serfdom." From other sources we know that this monarch deplored the "state of barbarism in which the country had been left by the traffic in men. . . . If civilization were more advanced, I would abolish this slavery, if it cost me my head." In the light of the deep piety of the Tsar, we can have no doubt about the Christian motive of this desire. But what Whittier describes as this "legacy of duty" was accepted by his nephew, Alexander II., who effected the largest emancipation ever carried out by one man or one State.

§ 3. *Prison Reform*

JOHN HOWARD: his Gaol Inspections; their Results. STEPHEN GRELLET: sent to Prisons and Palaces; his Call to ELIZABETH FRY: her Work in Newgate and on Convict Ships, her Tours Abroad.

"I was in prison, and ye came unto Me." This solemn utterance of the Son of Man, set amid the blisses and dooms of eternal judgment, seems to have had for generations small effect upon His followers. An end to this neglect was put towards the close of the eighteenth century by the devoted labours of JOHN HOWARD (1726-1790). A youth of independent means, but of very frail health, he sought strength by travel. This led to his being captured by a French privateer and kept as a pri-

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soner under rigorous conditions for some time in France. This was his first taste of prison life. Set free, he married and settled down near Bedford. He and his wife made a model village of their estate at Cardington, replaced the old hovels with good cottages, planted trees, built schools, and made it a place of beauty to the present day. Himself an Independent, his wife an Anglican, he was on the friendliest terms with Quakers and Moravians resident in the neighbourhood. As Dr. Stoughton remarks, "Religion was everything to him." In his forty-fourth year he drew up this covenant, which he used solemnly to renew: "O compassionate and Divine Redeemer . . . accept of my solemn, free, and, I trust, unreserved surrender of my soul and of my dear child, all I am and have, into Thy hands. Do Thou ratify and confirm it and make me the everlasting monument of Thy unbounded mercy."

In this spirit he accepted the office of sheriff three years later. He visited Bedford gaol and found a most revolting state of things, the sexes not separated, no ventilation or sanitation, rotting straw the only bedding, innocent herded with the guilty, the acquitted retained to pay gaol fees, the unpaid gaolers exacting their livelihood from the prisoners, a horrible stench, a more horrible immorality, and ever recurring outbreaks of gaol fever. In about a year he had visited most of the prisons in England and found similar abominations almost everywhere. In one dreadful cell, whose occupant

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prayed to be hanged rather than remain, Howard shut himself up till he found it intolerable.

He laid the result of his investigations before a committee of the House of Commons in the very next year. He had the satisfaction of seeing a series of Acts passed to remedy the abuses. Once launched on his reforming career, he did not limit it to his own country. He went on a tour of inspection of prisons and kindred places through Scotland and Ireland, and then through almost every country in Europe, reporting what he had found, and stimulating improvements. And this man, thus visiting often pestiferous haunts, was called "a confirmed invalid."

Nay, he gave most of the last five years of his life to investigating methods of checking the spread of plague, and deliberately sailed in a plague smitten ship that he might know what quarantine meant. His death from camp fever at Kherson, in Russia, ended a life which was, as he had prayed, "an everlasting monument of Divine mercy." His was the first statue admitted into St. Paul's Cathedral. Of his life-work he said, "To the pursuit of it, I was prompted by the sorrows of the sufferers and love of my country. The work grew upon me insensibly. I could not enjoy my ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered me by Providence, of attempting the relief of the miserable." On the way to his death, he wrote, "Lord leave me not to my own wisdom which is folly. . . . Help me to

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glorify *Thee* on earth and finish the work *Thou* gavest me to do." So conscious was he throughout of being but the agent of the Unseen Director.

In this country, his work seemed only temporary, but others were raised up to continue and extend it. One of the most wonderful despatch-bearers of the Invisible Commander was Stephen GRELLET (1773-1855), an *émigré* French noble, who studied Penn's works in America, became a Friend, and was recognized as a minister. At the point of death through yellow fever, he was shown the corners of the earth where he should have to labour in the service of the Gospel, and was restored to life. He came to London in 1811 and addressed companies of pick-pockets and prostitutes with moving effect. He asked to see the prisons. He visited Newgate and was so overcome by what he saw that he went at once to his friend Elizabeth FRY (1780-1845) and laid the lot of the women prisoners on her soul. He passed on to the Continent and in a succession of tours, of 26,000 to 28,000 miles, over almost every country in Europe, visiting always the prisons and the palaces, reporting to King and Emperor and Pope what he had seen and urging measures of reform. He went and was accepted as the very mouthpiece of Christ. He testified to high and low, and set no small amount of history in motion.

So it proved with Mrs. Fry. The Gurney family contained a brilliant group of daughters of which she was the brightest. When 15 years old, she induced

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her father to show her the women in the Penitentiary, and asked on leaving the sad sight, "If this is the world, where is God?" In her eighteenth year she became an earnest Quaker, giving up all the gaiety and pleasures of her sprightly youth, studied the Bible, visited the poor and the sick, and taught a class of seventy children which her sisters called "Betsy's imps!" Married at twenty she became the mother of a very large family, but made that no plea for forsaking wider duties. When the meeting appointed her a minister, she said, "it once more leads me only to desire that I may simply and singly follow my Master in the way of His requirements, whatsoever they may be."

Then Grellet came with his message. She went to Newgate, saw the sad plight of the women, undertook to minister to them, effected a marvellous transformation in their demeanour and often in their character. Either she or her friends visited the prisoners almost daily; and being concerned about the convicts who were being transported, Mrs. Fry visited every transport which sailed from England from 1818 to 1841. Her success roused others to do as she had done. The Prison Discipline Society, on which her brother-in-law was active, revived and extended the work of Howard.

The dauntless Quakeress, too, went on tour through the United Kingdom, and through many of the principal countries of Europe, visiting prisons and hospitals and making recommendations to

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crowned heads and others in authority which were very often carried out. Her speech was most persuasive and compelling : she spoke as the very "oracle of God." Late in life she could say, "I believe I have never wakened without my first thought being how best I might serve my Lord." The transformation of the prison system of Europe into what it is to-day is very largely due to what was done by Howard, Grellet and Elizabeth Fry acting as conscious executants of the Unseen Worker.

§ 4. *Social Effects of Foreign Missions*

WILLIAM CAREY: his Call and Claim. First modern Missionary Society. Social Nature of First Venture to South Seas. Enumeration of Social Results of Missions abroad. DAVID LIVINGSTONE a great Social Pioneer. The Christian Third, the Non-Christian Two-thirds, of Mankind.

There have been successive waves of Christian concern for the non-Christian peoples. One wave of evangelism swept the friars far afield. Another carried the Jesuits to the furthest East and West. A reservoir of incentive and information was established in the Congregation of Propaganda at Rome. Oliver Cromwell formed the rival design of an Institution for the Protestant Religion, with four well paid secretaries for the different provinces of action. One or two societies were born at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. Every one of these missionary agencies had their social reactions, sooner or later visible. Then came the outburst of Moravian zeal, with its social outposts rapidly

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planted round the world. From Zinzendorf and Herrnhut came the Methodist revival. And soon side by side with it surged the general Evangelical movement which carried through the emancipation of the slave, penal reform, and many another philanthropic cause. The thought of the time was in all spheres intensely individualistic. The current mood infected religion also. It was marked with a passion for the salvation of individual souls. And this supplied the impulse for the great outburst of foreign missions at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The human initiator was a Northamptonshire cobbler, who started in his youth as lay preacher among the Baptists and, without passing through any college, was chosen pastor of a small church at Moulton, with an income (chiefly supplied by his own weekly earnings) of £36 a year. In these humble circumstances the Great Call came to William CAREY (1761-1824). In the school he taught to get his keep, with a globe before him made of leather by his own hands, he was instructing his geography class after a perusal of Cook's Voyages round the world, when "it flashed painfully upon him how small a portion of the human race yet possessed any knowledge of Jesus Christ and His salvation." 400 out of the 730 millions of mankind, he reckoned, were in Pagan darkness. He came to the conclusion that it was the will of the Lord for the Church and for himself to carry the Gospel to the

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heathen. Moving to another pastorate at Leicester, he launched the Divine demand upon the Baptist Association at Nottingham with the cry, "Expect great things from God : Attempt great things for God." As a consequence, on October 2nd, 1792, in the back parlour of a private house at Kettering, twelve men founded the Baptist Missionary Society. £13 2s. 6d. was collected on the spot, and Carey offered himself as missionary. Yet this was the beginning of the world-circling missionary movement of modern times. It is no surprise to be told "The presence of the Lord was felt at the gathering." At so momentous a departure His propulsion must have been evident.

The great missionary movement was, as already stated, inspired by a burning zeal for the salvation of individual souls. But it was a Christian salvation : therefore it could not be merely individualistic ; it must also be social.

The essentially social nature of Christianity has been shown far more plainly in the mission stations abroad than in the Churches at home. From the first there was involved the planting of communities, which were more than preaching stations. This was forced upon the missionaries by the necessities of their task. But it was by no means absent from the minds of those that sent them forth. The very first venture abroad of the London Missionary Society, to Tahiti, meant the purchase of the ship *Duff*, and the despatch, with four ordained ministers, of two

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dozen workmen of fifteen different trades. The directors' "instructions" were to "form models of civilized society, small indeed, but tolerably complete ; . . . thus there would be among them that mutual dependence and usefulness, which is the cement of the social order." These words breathe no narrow individualism ; they express the principles of social construction which are imbedded in the Gospel.

The relation between "Christian Missions and Social Progress" has been exhaustively set forth in three portly volumes by Rev. J. S. Dennis, D.D., and therefore need not be stated here at any length. Dr. Dennis outlines the features of the "sociological era in missions" in the development of a new public opinion, in the promotion of education, in creating new literatures and in other ways raising the intellectual life of the non-Christians, in awaking the philanthropic spirit and in forming new ideas of nationality and of government. He recounts the effects of missions in repressing drunkenness, the opium habit, gambling, impurity, self-torture ; and in encouraging industry and thrift. Missions have, he shows, purified family life, elevated woman, diminished infanticide ; helped to abolish cannibalism, human sacrifices, slavery and the slave trade ; they have organized famine relief, introduced medical missions, hospitals, asylums for lepers and for orphans, promoted sanitation, and diffused a law-abiding spirit. Missionaries have been creators of new communities and new civilizations. From the

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first they have introduced industrial missions, though not on the great scale of the colonies now known under that name.

Perhaps the vastest social change that any one man was used to bring about was the work done by David LIVINGSTONE (1813-1873), in opening up the continent of Africa to all the social influences, economic, political, religious, of Christendom. A mill-hand in his youth, he was called to a vocation that proved too big for the missionary society and too big for the British Empire ; and he carried it out under an overmastering sense of obligation to the Divine Commander.

It is of no slight social interest to observe that the two races which most fully recognize the duty of foreign missions are those who speak English and those who speak French. Of 8,000 Roman priests engaged as missionaries, over 7,000 are French ; and most of the subscriptions annually contributed to the Roman Propaganda come from France. The religious chivalry of France which played so great a part in mediæval history now finds a congenial field in foreign missions. By the figures for 1907 Protestant ordained missionaries are in round numbers about 6,000 : of these 2,000 are British, 2,000 are American, 1,000 are German, with 1,000 from other peoples. To the Protestant missionary income, of four and a half million sterling, the British contribute two million, the Americans also two million, and the Germans the rest.

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It is reckoned that the human beings nominally Christian are to the nominally non-Christian as one in three (558 out of 1,623 millions). But the third are armed with all the resources and prestige of modern civilization and are exerting an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. And in spite of national and ecclesiastical differences, Christian missions make for the promotion of a moral and spiritual unity of mankind—a service of the utmost possible importance to the new international era on which the race is entering. As the greater Non-Christian faiths strive more and more to show that they possess features equal in value to what are found in the Christian faith, the tendency is to lay stress on what most resembles distinctive Christian ideas ; and so, under whatever guise or disguise, to go far towards Christianizing the public opinion of mankind. If the League of Nations becomes co-extensive with the race, Christian missions will have done much to provide it with a soul.

§ 5. *Christian Influence on Organized Labour*

Trade Unions a product of Christian Civilisation ; largely led by Lay Preachers. Miners. Agricultural Labourers. Dockers. Labour Party “ created by Christ.” Labour Weeks : Fellowship of Followers. American Labour’s Spiritual Aims. Christian and Catholic Unions in Europe. International Organisations of Labour and their Leaders. International Labour Office of the League of Nations ; its Objective and Chief Originator. Friendly Societies. The Co-operative Movement.

The eighteenth century witnessed the great transition from the stage in which the worker owned

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most of his tools and materials, to the stage in which tools and materials passed from his hands and he became a lifelong wage-earner. As inventions augmented the number, the size and the complexity of tools, and as the application of steam to machinery led to concentration in mill and factory, the transition became a veritable revolution, and is labelled as The Industrial Revolution. An Agrarian Revolution, preceded by the new commercial wealth buying out the old yeomanry, was carried out in the wholesale enclosure of common lands and the dispossession of many thousands of cottagers. The result of both changes was the massing of population in the industrial towns, and the growth of a distinctive working class, over against the owners of tools, factories and materials—or in a word the capitalists. Each individual worker was powerless before the possessor of the sole means of production available. His one hope was in combination with his fellows.

So in an individualistic age, when individualism was the rage of the governing and possessing classes, the workers gradually began to learn and enforce the solidarity of their interests, and laid the basis of a new sense of social solidarity. Not “each man for himself,” but “all for all,” became their principle. Which is the nearer to the Christian idea is obvious. The Trade Union is a product of Christian civilization. It sprang out of what the society of tailors (one of the earliest trades to combine) called “an ancient custom in the kingdom of Great Britain for

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divers artists to meet together and unite themselves in societies to promote Amity and true Christian Charity." As sick and funeral club it developed into a genuine Trade Union. Both before and after the era of legal repression, which largely ended in 1825, initiation into the union was a religious ceremony, attended with the offering of prayer and singing of hymns. And it soon became evident that the makers and leaders of these unions were religious men.

Now appeared the immense social value of the Lay Preacher. The workers of Great Britain, oppressed and persecuted by the clergy as well as the squirearchy of the State Church, turned to members of their own order whose character and ability had been trained in the Free Churches, and chose them as spokesmen and leaders. Especially to the Methodist movement does the Labour movement owe an almost incalculable debt. What the Independents were to the ascendant middle classes in the seventeenth century, that were the Primitive Methodists to the ascendant working classes in the nineteenth century. Notably was this the case among the miners.

The case of the Dorsetshire labourers in 1834 sheds a flood of light on the origins of trade unionism in this country. The agricultural labourers in Tolpuddle asked and were promised wages at the rate paid elsewhere, which was nine shillings a week, The promise was broken and they were ground

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down to seven shillings. The brothers Loveless therefore formed a trade union. They were Wesleyan local preachers. On the technical ground that they had administered an illegal oath to members, they were, the local clergy approving, sentenced to seven years' penal servitude. When this monstrous sentence was passed, George Loveless tells us he got a pencil and a scrap of paper and wrote these lines, expressing the very spirit of the English Labour movement :

God is our Guide ! from field, from wave,
From plough, from anvil and from loom ;
We come, our country's rights to save
And speak a tyrant faction's doom ;
We raise the watchword Liberty :
We will, we will, we will be free !

God is our guide ! No swords we draw :
We kindle not war's battle fires.
By reason, union, justice, law,
We claim the birthright of our sires :
We raise the watchword, Liberty !
We will, we will, we will be free !

Among other expressions of popular wrath at this judicial crime, a great demonstration of London Unions was organized by Robert Owen and at their head the Rev. Arthur Wade, D.D., "chaplain to the Metropolitan Trade Unions," an Anglican Owenite of Warwick. But the "Liberal" government refused to interfere until the victims had served four years abroad.

The next great attempt to organize the underpaid agricultural labourers was headed in 1872 by Joseph

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Arch, a Primitive Methodist local preacher ; and in 1907 another lay preacher of the same church, George Edwards, founded the Eastern Counties Agricultural Labourers' Union. This Union held camp meetings. Singing and prayer have been frequent adjuncts of Union meetings, both in Britain and America. At any Miners' Demonstration, the banners are ablaze with Scripture incidents and texts. The Good Samaritan is a favourite scene. Some of the Scottish trade unions had an Evangelistic branch. My father used to preach a sermon before the annual dinner of a local Shipwrights' Union. The great Dockers' Strike in 1889, which marked the entry of the unskilled labourer into the organized Labour movement, was headed by a docker who spoke much on religious platforms, and by an agitator who had grave thoughts of entering Holy Orders ; it was helped and commended to public sympathy by Cardinal Manning.

When Organized Labour turned to Parliamentary representation, the first Labour members sent to Parliament were Thomas Burt, Primitive Methodist, and Alexander Macdonald, a devout soul as well as a first-rate organizer. Later came Keir Hardie, founder of the Independent Labour Party, a fervid Evangelist, who won for his devout Evangelism the respect of Continental Socialists. When in 1906 the Labour Party entered Parliament in force, only two of them were "not believers." The first meeting to celebrate their success, before the

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wire puller and " politician " had begun their baleful arts, was full of the enthusiasm of " the Galilean idyll " ; one could imagine the Carpenter of Nazareth present in complete sympathy. So a Liberal could say on the floor of the House of Commons, " Jesus Christ created the Labour Party."

In their Labour Weeks in different parts of the kingdom they have urged on the workers the need of personal religion. Over a score of them have joined in the Fellowship of Followers of Jesus Christ ; and these include the chief leaders of British Labour, who have since come to the foretop of the State. The British Labour movement is saturated with religious impulses. A Wesleyan Labour leader tells how, regretfully, but in obedience to the guidance of Christ, he gave up being superintendent of a dearly loved Sunday school, in order to undertake the work of Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union which could then only meet on Sundays. A Midland Member has put on record that many of the men attending the Trade Union Congress " implore the Almighty to guide them in the right spirit." The claim is often boldly advanced that the Labour movement better interprets the spirit of Jesus than the Churches do. In the County of Durham the joke is current, " You must first be P.M. (Primitive Methodist) if you wish to be M.P."

As one goes up and down the country, one finds that the leaders and chief workers in the cause of Labour are Lay Preachers—Baptist, and Methodist,

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but mostly Methodist—Presbyterian elders, Friends, or others whose religious faith and life have won the confidence of their fellows. It is curious to note that the Methodists, so often called religious individualists, have through their lay preachers been the prophets of Labour solidarity, and the fathers of the first Socialist Government. Their Christianity was too strong for any individualism to master, and they interpreted the pressure of economic events as a Divine call to collective action. All that is best in British Labour and its achievements is a triumph of Social Christianity.

Great Britain, the Holy Land of Capital as Marx called it, has been the home of trade unionism, and has led the Labour movement of the world. On the Continent of Europe the element supplied by the Free Churches in England was almost entirely absent, and Organized Labour has been estranged by the Prussianism of the Lutheran Churches. The great bulk of German labourers were enrolled in Social Democratic Unions, which were, at first, frankly hostile to religion, then relegated it to the category of a "private affair," and now, since the war, have lost their faith in materialism. As alternative to these have sprung the "Christian" Unions and the great Catholic associations, which include a large and growing minority of the Continental workers. In America, many of the most potent Labour leaders are avowed Christians, resolved to put their deepest life into their organizing work.

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In 1923, the American Federation of Labour solemnly declared that their aims were not merely economic but ethical, ideal and spiritual. The very essence of the Trade Union—the sinking of self in the larger whole, “the subordination of the particular to the Universal,” the close practical brotherhood, the almost intolerant loyalty to organization—is closely akin to the Christian spirit; and the movement has succeeded most where Christianity is strongest.

The same spirit appears in the fact that Organized Labour has been mostly International. Of the Workingmen’s International founded in 1866, the chief prophets were Joseph Mazzini and Karl Marx. Mazzini mistook Christianity for individualism, but really proclaimed in his Gospel of Association many of the essential truths of the Evangelic Kingdom of God. Marx was a Hebrew prophet tricked out in the guise of a modern materialist. His materialism has been torn to shreds; but his solemn indictment of the glaring injustice shown in the disproportion between service and remuneration prevailing in the different industrial strata to-day goes sounding on through the nations with prophetic and revolutionary force. But in the succession of “Internationals,” putting the wild men of Moscow out of serious account, the one sane effort to-day is that which reposes very largely on the shoulders of that good Methodist local preacher known as the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson. The International Federa-

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tion of Trade Unions had till recently as Secretary, Mr. Edo Fimmen, an ex-Salvationist, who declares that he believes in the Gospel of Christ with all his heart and soul.

The most effective of all International associations of Labour is that department of the League of Nations known as the International Labour Office. Its function is to ascertain the best that has anywhere been attained for the elevation of Labour, and then by means of appropriate Conventions to induce all nations to level up to the highest attained standard. Has there ever been a means more after the mind of the Son of Man than this, for raising the lot of the poor and them that labour, by patient knowledge and by brotherly co-operation, right round the world ? At the head of it stands M. Albert Thomas, who has repeatedly expressed his interest in bringing Labour and Religion together. And the man who is admitted on all hands to have been the chief artificer of this lever to "elevate the race at once" is the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes, the first Labour Member of Parliament to join the Fellowship of Followers aforesaid. Does one not seem to see in the world-uniting action of Christian Labour leaders, almost nakedly displayed the Social Initiative of the Unseen Lord ?

Other forms of Organized Labour are the Friendly Societies and the vast group of collective effort gathered under the common term of Co-operation. The Friendly Societies have their roots in the far

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past, pre-Christian as well as Christian ; but in this country they are very largely the members of trade unions in another phase and have not a little of the same spirit. Co-operation is in its ideal closely akin to the Christian aim, and is believed by a great mass of its supporters in all countries to be one of the best means known for making real the economic aims of Christianity. Like the best that is in Social Democracy, it only needs to discover its Christian essence to become a true Evangel to mankind.

Of the chief leaders of associated Labour in this country, Robert Owen and J. J. Holyoake are the only ones who were avowedly non-Christian, and of these two Owen was, according to Holyoake, a Theist.

§ 6. *Legal Protection of Labour*

Horrors under Industrial Revolution. Michael Sadler. Richard Oastler. Lord Shaftesbury: his Vow in Youth ; his later Mandate, Factory and Mines Acts opposed by John Bright. Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children." Evangelical Inspiration of Social Reform. Samuel Plimsoll. "Coffin Ships." The "Plimsoll Line."

In all the bloodstained annals of the ravages of Mammon on Christendom, few chapters can compare in lurid horror with those that record the ruthless exploitation of child-life, of youth and womanhood, during the opening decades of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. From the overcrowded workhouses, children were sent in vast numbers to be used up in the factories. They were worked intolerably long hours, and kept from

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sleeping at their tasks by overseers specially appointed to flog them awake. Through bending over the machines, those who did survive were often crippled for life ; but the long hours, close confinement, and pitiless overwork caused a frightfully high mortality. The fortunes made in the textile trades were very largely coined out of the blood of little children.

An Act of 1802 limited the hours of pauper (or "apprenticed") children to twelve a day, forbade night work, required decent quarters and religious education ; but these boons did not extend to the labour of "free" children and were very insufficiently enforced. An Act of 1818 forbade the employment of any child under nine years of age and fixed a twelve-hour limit for those between nine and sixteen, but only in cotton mills. The children in all other employments were left without any legal protection. A Ten Hours Bill was introduced in 1831 by Michael Sadler, a Tory Member, but he was defeated at the polls. In 1830 a popular agitation was begun in support of this measure, and lasted seventeen years.

Richard OASTLER (1789-1861) was the son of a great Methodist and was in his infancy embraced and blessed by John Wesley, but in later life became Tory and Churchman. In his 41st year, a Bradford Mill-owner named Wood called his attention to the sufferings of the children in the woollen and worsted mills of the West Riding. Oastler opened his campaign with a fierce trumpet blast against

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“Yorkshire Slavery” which, after stating the dreadful facts, concluded with the words, “Christians should feel and act for those whom Christ so eminently loved and declared that of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.” His appeal evoked an electric response. The people crowded round him : he was styled “the Factory King.” But the populace most concerned had no votes. Action in Parliament was necessary.

So an Anglican clergyman, G. S. Bull, a comrade of Oastler's, waited on the man whose name was to be thenceforth for ever associated with laws protecting Labour. Lord SHAFTESBURY (1801-1885) became according to his own confession a decided Christian at the early age of seven. A very unhappy childhood doubtless made the Divine friendship the more precious. When he was at Harrow school, and still only fourteen, his next life-decision was made. The sight of drunken men howling obscene songs, while carrying a pauper corpse in a rude coffin, then letting it drop and lifting it again with horrible imprecations, profoundly moved the young nobleman. “Good Heavens !” he cried, “can this be permitted simply because the man was poor and friendless ?” There and then, the youth “determined that, with the help of God, he would from that time forth devote his life to pleading the cause of the poor and friendless.” The vow was well kept. When 24 years old, he records in his diary, “I have a great mind to found a policy upon the Bible,” not for individuals only,

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but for nations, "in public life observing the strictest justice and active benevolence." On his 25th birthday he speaks of having "visions without end, but all of a noble character, for the increase of religion and true happiness. England was to have been the fountain, and our globe the soil to have been watered by her ; may she do it yet ! But He has perhaps other nations in view for the honour of vice-gerency ; let us hope not ; nay let us try not." His vision has been fulfilled ; England has been the fountain of Labour Legislation and the globe has in that respect been watered by her.

As Lord Ashley, he entered the House of Commons and in 1828 initiated a series of laws for the regulation of Lunatic Asylums, having previously, as his manner was, convinced himself of the terrible inhumanities prevailing, by personal inspection. "So," he notes, "by God's blessing, my first effort has been for the advancement of human happiness." When Sadler fell out of Parliament, Lord Ashley wrote offering his services in presenting petitions in support of the Ten Hours Bill, but had no reply. To this young Tory nobleman, opponent to the last of the Reform Bill, came Oastler's friends, imploring him, on behalf of the voteless millions, to take up Sadler's work in Parliament. The proposal filled Ashley, as he confesses, with "astonishment and doubt and terror." It meant for him the adoption of a cause most unpopular in the "Reformed" Parliament, packed as it was with champions of the

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mill-owners. It meant renunciation of high office under the Crown. He had till the next morning to make up his mind. He consulted his wife : " she without a moment's hesitation, said ' Go forward, and to victory ! ' " In his own words, " I returned home to decide for myself, after meditation and prayer and ' divination ' (as it were) by the Word of God." This was the third great decision of his life. His distinctive career was adopted under the stern sense of a mandate from the Unseen.

That same year he introduced his first Factory Bill. The Government so weakened it in Committee that Lord Ashley flung it into their hands. Even so, the Act, when passed, limited the day for children under 11 years to nine hours, under 18 to twelve hours. It prohibited night work and for the first time appointed inspectors. So began the great succession of Factory Acts which have not merely benefited the workers in this country but have been the incentive and model of similar legislation in other lands.

He next turned his attention to the mines and got a Commission to investigate. The Report he presented to Parliament disclosed almost incredible horrors. " Little boys and girls of five years old were put to dragging sledge-tubs by girdle and chain, on all fours, through roadways often no more than 22 or 28 inches in height and full of mud and water, and this for a day of 14 or 16 hours, half-naked and exposed to all the miseries of cold, darkness and

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foul atmosphere." On the tide of public indignation, the first Mines Regulation Act was swept through both Houses. It shut out women and girls from all work underground, with boys under ten years. It, too, was the first of a whole series.

In 1843, the voice of a woman broke in. The poetess, soon to be wedded to Robert Browning, rang out "The Cry of the Children" in plaintive strains that went to the heart of the nation. The "Cry" was needed, for the Factory Acts were still fiercely resented by the powerful mill-owners, who sought to get them repealed. And two years afterwards came out shocking disclosures of calico-print works, in which children 7 to 9 years old, sometimes even infants of 3 or 4 years, were worked, with the adults, for 16, 17, or 18 hours a day. Armed with these facts, Lord Ashley compelled Parliament to bring these works under the Factory Acts.

The struggle for the Ten Hours Day was renewed in 1844 and went on for three years longer. Lord Ashley was stoutly opposed by John BRIGHT (1811-1889). There is a poignant sadness in this conflict. The Commoner and the nobleman were both devout Christians; both claimed to find in Scripture the inspiration of their lives; both intensely loved the common people; Bright did as much to enfranchise them as Ashley did to protect them. But here was Bright, the Radical Quaker, opposing a Factory law which the titled Tory Churchman was pressing on the House. It was an

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eminent instance of what was far too current in that day, of Christian men putting their conscience under the abstract tenets of an economic school rather than under the Christ's concern for His little ones. The Ten Hours Act was passed.

When his father's death removed the champion of the Factory Acts to the Upper House, he kept true to his Call. He put a Lodging House Act through in 1851. Twelve years later, he got an Act passed to deal with the Agricultural Gangs of women, girls and boys, who went from farm to farm to work, under male gangers, often in indescribable conditions of immorality. Girls under 18 were forbidden to go in gangs ; female gangers were to be in charge of the women, and no child under eight was to work in the fields.

It is impossible in this limited survey to enumerate all the social activities of Lord Shaftesbury. His work in the slums, in the Ragged School Union, in education, stand out ; but there was practically no kind of human suffering which he was not active to relieve or to encourage others to relieve. He was in touch with the highest ; he was in touch with the lowest. He was the embodied "enthusiasm of humanity." The narrowness of his creed and his theological antipathies are as the dust of the balance in comparison with the massive service he rendered to his country and his kind. He told Mr. Hodder, "I am essentially on very deeply rooted conviction an Evangelical of the Evangelicals. I have worked

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with them constantly, and I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them." This is a witness which no record of Social Christianity may overlook.

What Lord Shaftesbury did for the protection of workers on land, was done for those at sea by Samuel PLIMSOLL (1824-1898). He was a man of simple outspoken piety, and the religious motive that prompted him came out continually in his public work and utterances. As member for Derby, he made repeated efforts to get Parliament to interpose to check preventable loss of life at sea, but in vain. So he published his famous book "Our Seamen" (1872) in which he exposed the hideous practice of shipowners sending unseaworthy or overloaded ships to sea, heavily insured—"coffin ships" they were called—heedless of the lives that were lost, eager only for the insurance money. Many sailors, for refusing to serve on such ships, were sent to gaol. The sensation roused by the book necessitated a Royal Commission, which did not, however, advise the adoption of Plimsoll's load-line. Plimsoll's Bill next year only missed passing by three votes. So the Government had to bring in a Bill in the next session. Its withdrawal drove Plimsoll almost to frenzy; and a painful scene in the House only the more stirred feeling in the country. The result was the Merchant Shipping Act of 1876 which introduced the desired safeguards.

The late Lord Morley used to say, "You talk

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about the powerlessness of the individual in these days of collectivism ! Yet every ship in the British mercantile marine bears on its side the mark which has been painted there by the daring and fervour of one man—the Plimsoll line.” And that man was so potent because he was consciously the agent of the righteousness of God. His appeal was that of a Christian to fellow Christians, as so often appears in his public speeches.

§ 7. *Popular Education*

La Salle, its Saint. The “Christian Brothers.” In France. In Prussia. Robert Raikes, Gaol Visitor, Founder of Sunday Schools : a “Triumph of Journalism” ; Pioneer of general Elementary Education. Joseph Lancaster : his Monitor System. British and Foreign Schools Society. How Founded. The rival “National Society.” The Religious Difficulty. Pestalozzi. Froebel. Wordsworth.

The achievement of education for the children of the common people is one of the chief distinctions of Social Christianity. It was a boon slowly obtained. It took Europe a long time to reach the point marked by Geneva in 1534, when, in adopting the Reformation, the city also decreed “compulsory and gratuitous education for all the children of the community.” Scotland was urged in the same direction by Knox ; and the New England colonies included school with church in their main objective.

Catholic France produced the Saint of popular education in the person of Jean Baptiste de LA SALLE (1651–1719). Son of a well-to-do family in Reims, he became Canon of the Cathedral there in his

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seventeenth year and a priest when twenty. He was deeply moved to find the crass ignorance of religion among the working classes. So he founded a fraternity, The Ignorantines, more generally known as "the Christian Brothers" under vows, terminable at will, of poverty, chastity, obedience, and to the free instruction of poor children. He opened classes in 1679, and gathered his disciples into a special house. "Jesus was his resource, his study, his model, his delight, and his life." He made the absolute surrender : gave up his canonry to a poor priest, and his patrimony to the unfortunate. He and his disciples lived entirely by faith, and Providence honoured their faith in wonderful ways. He himself taught in his schools, and was often exposed to ridicule and annoyance. In the end he centred his work at Saint-Yon in Rouen ; it spread far and wide. It was not till more than a century later (1791) the French Constitution decreed that education should be "compulsory and gratuitous." But the "Christian Brothers," besides pioneering the popular movement in France, have, despite suppressions here and there, gone well nigh all over the world. They are now said to number 10,000 and to have more than 2,000 schools. In Germany, Luther's influence was active in the development of schools for the people's children. But it was the second king of Prussia, Frederick William I., who in 1717 made schooling compulsory ; and this measure of the pious father was further strengthened by his free-

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thinking son, Frederic the Great. Prussia has set the pace for Germany.

Compared with peremptory State action abroad, movement in South Britain seems very slow and sporadic. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1689, sowed schools in different parts of the country. Griffith Jones in 1730 led his "circulating schools" through Wales to teach people to read the Bible. John Wesley actively interested himself in schools for his following. But the great step forward was taken by ROBERT RAIKES (1735-1811). A prosperous journalist, a friend of the Wesleys and of Whitefield, a devout churchman, he used to visit often the prisoners in the Castle of Gloucester, and Howard thinks that these visits suggested to Raikes "the plan of preventing youth from coming there." He opened his first Sunday School in Sooty Lane, just opposite the prison gates, in 1780. He hired teachers, and after some experiments opened *the* SUNDAY SCHOOL November 3, 1783. He published accounts of it in his *Gloucester Journal*, and further publicity was given to the movement by his friend the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*: so that it has been said, "the triumph of the Sunday School is a triumph of the newspaper Press."

Encouraged by his success, Raikes felt that it was possible "to raise up among the lowest of the people a new race," and went on with further schemes. He made his schools week-day as well as Sunday schools ;

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he pressed for schools of industry : " he wanted a national system of education." So J. R. Green could say, " The Sunday Schools established by Mr. Raikes . . . were the beginnings of popular education." Raikes' motive was religious. His leading idea, we are told, was to instil in the pupils a sense of reverence. He was described as an Evangelical with strong leanings to mysticism. His daughter spoke of him as " a very holy man." He himself said, " Providence was pleased to make me the instrument of introducing Sunday Schools." The publicity given to his work led to the court ladies at Windsor following his example, and Empress Catharine of Russia invited him to her court ! In four years from his commencement there were a quarter of a million children in Sunday Schools. The movement has spread to all lands. In England and Wales in 1887 they included about 25 per cent. of the population, and had a larger number of pupils than the compulsorily attended public elementary schools. Such was the direct outcome of the initiative of " Bobby Wildgoose " ; but it was because he obeyed the word of the Son of Man to go to His brethren in prison that the fontal idea sprang up in his mind.

The general transition from Sunday School to day school was initiated by JOSEPH LANCASTER (1778-1828). He was the son of a poor man, of Dissenting principles, and had little education. When he was fourteen he was so impressed by Clarkson's essay on

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the slave trade that he ran off to sea, meaning to go to Jamaica to teach the slaves. Brought back home, he had thoughts of the Dissenting ministry, but became a Quaker. He resolved to teach the poor children around him in Southwark. He opened free classes in his father's house. As the number of his pupils increased, he hit upon the idea of "monitors" or setting the elder pupils to teach and control the younger. He soon had a thousand children under perfect discipline. The work attracted widespread attention, and later won royal patronage. Similar schools sprang up elsewhere, and Lancaster proved himself a kindling propagandist. His fundamental rule was that the school was not to promote sectarian ends ; " its object was to instruct youth in useful learning and in the leading and uncontroverted principles of Christianity." He spent lavishly and fell into debt, and the friends who paid his debts helped him to give organized expression to his work.

Corston, a Moravian, Fox a Baptist, and Lancaster a Quaker, met at Corston's house January 22, 1808, and after much silent prayer unanimously resolved that " with a humble reliance upon the blessing of Lord God Almighty, and with a single eye to His glory, and with the view of benefiting the British Empire, the persons present do constitute themselves a society for the purpose of affording education, procuring employment, and as far as possible to furnish clothing ; and also to diffuse the providential discovery of the vaccine inoculation . . . and also

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by furnishing objects for the exercise of industry, to render life useful." So came into being what was afterwards known as the British and Foreign School Society. The minute quoted contains in it germs of what we now know as Care Committees, after-care committees, school clinics, and technical schools. The founders were men of large vision.

The Anglicans, led by a certain Mrs. Trimmer, took alarm at this undenominational school movement, made the most of their Dr. Bell, who had in India devised the monitorial system, and formed in October 1811 "the National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales." Southey, who was paid a thousand pounds to write the "Life of Bell" and therefore a well-fee'd supporter of the anti-Lancastrians, declared that "the heads of the church did their duty, not because they were persuaded to it, but because they were frightened and shamed into it by the Dragon" (*i.e.* Lancaster). The struggle between these two societies was deplorable. But the existence of popular education in this country for several generations was principally due to these societies, both claiming Christian inspiration. A really national system did not arrive until 1871, delayed as it had been by sectarian bigotry; and it is grievous to record that, though England and Wales owe what education they have received in the first instance to the Christian churches, these churches by their

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denominational jealousies have painfully retarded and hampered educational progress.

It is pleasant to turn from these British bickerings to the birth of the new education in Switzerland and Germany. While English Christians were wrestling with the needs of children in the slums of Gloucester and Southwark, J. H. PESTALOZZI (1746-1827) was developing his system amid the mountains and lakes of Switzerland. His ideas were supplemented and unified by Frederick FROEBEL (1782-1852), a son of the manse, brought up in the Thuringian Forest, who largely lived his life in the open air, and drew in his inspiration from Nature herself. After a wide experience acquired in a roving career, he found his vocation as an educator, and opened the first Kindergarten in 1840 at Blankenburg. His whole life was saturated with a deep religious faith. He did not hesitate to say, "My system of education feels itself to be, and in fact claims to be, an education after the true spirit and following the precepts of Jesus Christ." In our own country, a kindred inspiration was expressed not in the methodic form of Froebel, but in the freedom of poetry by WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850), who may fitly claim to rank among our foremost educational reformers. Both he and Froebel are modern echoes of the Voice that bade us "consider the lilies of the field" and by study of nature to reach the highest life.

TEMPERANCE

§ 8. *The Temperance Movement*

Its Saint, Father Mathew, called by a Voice from the Dead. His Enormous Success in Ireland and England. Carlyle's Eulogy. Joseph Livesey and his "Teetotallers." Not Spirits alone renounced, but all Alcohol; in America also. J. B. Gough. Frances E. Willard: her Call, her Decision for Suffrage; W.W.C.T.U. "a Revelation from God." Education and Legislation. Prohibition in U.S.A.

"The modern Temperance Movement" said Miss Willard, was "born of Christ's Gospel and cradled at His altars." John Wesley forbade his Methodists to make or sell spirits, or put them to dietetic use, and earnestly advised abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. This prohibition was incorporated in the constitutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784. Medical men in England and America about the same time wrote on the evils of intoxication; and a pledge was adopted in America in 1800. Temperance societies sprang up on both sides of the Atlantic, but for the first third of the 19th century, they forbade the use of spirits only.

The earliest European society was formed at Skibbereen in 1818, which renounced ALL intoxicants. In Ireland, too, arose the chief saint of Temperance. He was a Franciscan, friar and priest of the Capuchin variety. He gave up a comfortable home to practise Franciscan rigors in the slums of Cork. He was by nature of a gay and festive, even convivial turn of mind, but was utterly faithful to his senior, Father Donovan. There were Quaker abstainers in Cork; and one of them, Martin by

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name, used often to come to FATHER MATHEW (1790-1856) and say : " Theobald Mathew, thee hast a mission from God to do this work "—of advocating temperance. Again a Quaker was despatch-bearer from Headquarters. But there was a more eerie messenger. After Father Donovan died, Mathew was in a church at midnight, when he saw standing in a mysterious light on the steps of the altar a priest whom he found to be none other than his old companion Donovan ! He spoke and was answered, but would report nothing of the conversation except that Donovan had " urged him to preach total abstinence. All his life he believed that he then spoke with a man risen from the dead." At last, on his knees in prayer in his own oratory, he got his Answer. He sent for Martin and together with sixty others they formed the Cork Temperance society.

The result was worthy of these monitions from the Unseen. Mathew's campaign for total abstinence from all intoxicants swept over Ireland like a prairie fire. Dr. Channing, writing in Boston, after saying that a few years previously he should have selected Ireland as the country " most hopelessly crushed by intemperance," went on to declare that " now, in the short space of two or three years, this vice of the ages has been rooted out. Five millions of her population have taken the pledge of total abstinence. The excise on ardent spirits has been diminished nearly a million sterling. History records no revolution like this. Father Mathew, the leader of this

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moral revolution, ranks far above the heroes and statesmen of all times." Mathew went over to England : Carlyle saw him at work amongst the poor and said : " I have seen nothing so religious." The terrible Potato Famine largely destroyed his work in Ireland. He was arrested for the debt incurred in his propaganda, but was enabled to meet the charge by a pension given him by Queen Victoria. He had a great reception both in England and America, where the Congress rose to greet him.

In Preston, Joseph LIVESEY, reared among the strict Baptists and in great poverty, developed a contempt for " easy-going " clergy and ministers with their comfortable flocks and, as undenominational, started an Adult Sunday school. He resolved to renounce alcoholic drink altogether, and in 1832 with six others formed a society for giving up all kinds of intoxicants. Next year he adopted the emphatic appellation " teetotal " from a popular colleague. The movement in Great Britain divided into those who gave up spirits only, and practised moderation in the use of other liquors, and the Teetotallers. In the United States the American Temperance Society, after some hesitation, placed its tabu upon all intoxicants in 1833. J. B. GOUGH, himself a converted drunkard, became the great orator of the movement. But the most potent leader in the States was a woman.

Frances E. WILLARD (1839-1898) wished in her college days to be a saint some day, but most to be

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a politician. When only 19, in a severe illness she gave herself to God. The Temperance crusade in 1874 claimed her. She resigned her valuable college berth as professor, and "in the sleepless night which followed there came a heavenly vision to which she was not disobedient." She gave herself to the Temperance cause. On the same day she was offered a college principalship with 2,400 dollars a year, and an entirely precarious job as president of the Chicago branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. She accepted the latter as "a great promotion," though often she did not know where to get her daily bread. She assisted D. L. Moody in his revival campaign. In 1879 she became President of the National Union, and was active in creating the "Temple" which was the headquarters of the work.

Then she took a step highly unpopular with some : "the conviction of the essential right and justice of the principle of woman's Suffrage, with the twin conviction that she must be its public advocate, came to her while she was on her knees in prayer. . . . She felt that all the power of God would be at her disposal in her advocacy." Practically the whole movement followed her. In 1883, on the Pacific coast, the sight of an opium den and house of ill-fame side by side in China Town, brought her "a distinct illumination," "one of those revelations from God that come to all of us in hours of spiritual uplift," that there must be the *World Women's Christian*

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Temperance Union "to organize the motherhood of the world" in the cause. She set before her a Trinity of aims: Prohibition, Woman's liberation and Labour's uplift. This organizing, "for doing good the World's united womanhood," has proved the most powerful instrument for achieving, through its branches in all lands, salutary social reform. Her last words, "How beautiful it is to be with God!" reveal the inspiration of her life and the Power that wrought through her life-work. The general Temperance campaign was greatly advanced by enlisting the children, and instilling into them the value of abstinence, in Bands of hope and similar agencies under the roof of the church, or later by optional or compulsory teaching in the public schools; by medical and scientific instruction; and by legislation.

The greatest achievement in the political domain was the constitutional enactment of Prohibition by the United States in 1919. Out of the 48 States in the Union, 45 with more than 100,000,000 population had ratified the change; only three refused, with a population of barely five millions. The chief forces to be credited with this result are undoubtedly Miss Willard's Organized Womanhood and Organized Religion. Whence the Initiative of both was derived is too obvious to need repeating. And so colossal an experiment is bound to have cosmic reactions. American Prohibitionists are bent on persuading all nations to follow suit. Perhaps the economic influence of competition

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with an alcohol-free Continent so richly endowed as the United States will have weight where moral suasion alone might fail. Already sanguine souls are thinking that social and international pressure promises in a few generations to extirpate drunkenness from the earth. The Temperance movement has not only forced large numbers of religious people to become Social Christians ; its victory will be a triumph of Social Christianity.

§ 9. *The Advent of Woman*

In Nursing : " Daughters of Charity," " Sisters of Mercy." Fliedner at Kaiserswerth ; his Deaconesses. Florence Nightingale ; Training ; the Crimean Call. Quaker Training in U.S.A. Elizabeth Fry in London. In Higher Education : F. D. Maurice and Queen's College. Entry to most Professions. In Aid of Fallen Women : Josephine Butler ; her Call, Courage, Leadership, Success. In Citizenship : Quaker Initiative ; Influence of Women like Butler, Booth, Willard. Thanksgiving for the Vote in 1918. Federal Franchise in U.S.A.

For a general recognition of the place which Jesus assigned to womanhood, Christendom has had to wait some nineteen centuries, so powerfully had male ascendancy, based on the claim of superior strength, availed itself of Jewish and ascetic prejudices. Ever and again, as great saints or abbesses, women had been conceded an exceptional standing, but without affecting the common conception of the inferior status of womanhood. The advance of the whole sex towards equal comradeship and equal citizenship with men had been won in the main along Christian lines—by the pathway of service, efficient and sustained, by the fidelity of trained heart and brain, by

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chivalrous defence of the weak and helpless, and above all, by unconquerable devotion to God.

In developing and honouring woman's manifest vocation for NURSING, the Roman Catholic Church has led the way. St. VINCENT de PAUL (1576-1651) founded in 1616 an association or order of Daughters of Charity for the alleviation of misery, and it is said to be to this day the largest organization for sick nursing in the world. In 1827 Catharine McAuley founded in Dublin the order of Sisters of Mercy, devoted to works of mercy for body and soul.

In the Protestant world the fontal significance of Elizabeth Fry appears and reappears. She came into touch in the eighteen-twenties with a young German Pastor, Theodor FLIEDNER (1800-1864) who was collecting funds for his poverty-stricken church at Kaiserswerth. She roused in him the desire to help prisoners. He went back and for three years visited and preached in Düsseldorf gaol and then had the satisfaction of founding the first German prison society. One night in 1833 he was knocked up by a woman discharged from prison who had nowhere to go. He improvised a sleeping place for her in the roof of his summerhouse. From this little incident sprang the great group of institutions which make Kaiserswerth one of the most famous names in the history of Christian philanthropy. First out of his poverty Fliedner formed a Home for discharged prisoners. Then, as some of

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the female prisoners had children, he took up Oberlin's idea of an infant school, which Robert Owen had popularized in Great Britain ; and as there were no teachers ready for this work, he added a normal school for training infant school teachers.

His increasing knowledge of the needs of the poor impressed upon him what proved to be his life-vocation, that for tending the sick and needy in various institutions, WOMEN should be trained. So without any money he bought the largest house in Kaiserswerth and opened it in 1836 with one Deaconess and with one patient. His daring faith was in time abundantly rewarded. At his death, there were a hundred Deaconess Institutions in various parts of the world, with 430 deaconesses. And since his death the work has gone advancing, and has been copied in other churches. The vast cluster of buildings for all kinds of beneficence which make up the modern Kaiserswerth is a monument to one man's faith and courage and belief in womanhood.

There, in 1849, came as voluntary nurse in quest of training FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE (1820-1910). She came at the advice of Elizabeth Fry. She found there no gentlewomen ; they were mostly peasant women ; but, she declared, " Never have I met with a higher love, a purer devotion than there." " Many of the sick in 1860 remembered her teaching and some died happily, blessing her for having led them to Jesus." Such was the great Englishwoman whose heroism and efficiency have made nursing a career of

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glory. Her call came with the Crimean War. Russell, *The Times* correspondent, sent harrowing descriptions of the untended British wounded and pleaded, "Must we fall below the French in self-sacrifice and devotedness in a work which Christ so signally blesses as done unto Himself?" All the world knows how Florence Nightingale responded to that plea. And the contrast between the tragic muddling of the men in charge of the war, and the magnificent ability, energy, despatch, generalship and success of this woman was not lost on an observant mankind. But amid the brilliance of her achievements for the nursing profession there should not be forgotten the pioneer work of Kaiserswerth and Quakerdom. The precedent of the German institution was followed in Philadelphia, where the Society of Friends formed a nursing organization. Elizabeth Fry herself founded in 1840 an institution of nursing sisters in London which in 1857 had 90 nurses on its roll. Is it necessary to recall the Unseen Initiative which inspired this great nursing movement?

Meantime a demand for the wider and higher education of women was growing. And it was but fitting that the apostle of the universal Fatherhood of God and the founder of Christian Socialism, Frederic Denison MAURICE, should have had the leading share in creating Queen's College for Women, the first of the numerous succession of colleges for women, which have now practically

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secured equal status for women in nearly all universities. On this has slowly followed the admission of women to almost all the professions, though curiously enough this advance of womanhood towards the Christian ideal is still obstinately resisted when it seeks entry into the clergy.

The most crucial and terrible vindication of Christ's claims for womanhood came when Christian women dared to champion the cause of those whom male selfishness had held to be the lowest and least to be regarded of the inferior sex. To stand up for Christ's valuation of the woman that was a sinner, in the face of horrified Pharisee and infuriated profligate, was for any man a daring thing to do ; but for a woman—superhuman courage was needed. Among all leaders in this Crusade of the White Cross, stands out foremost JOSEPHINE BUTLER (1828—1906). Married to a clergyman of high standing in the church, she was called to her distinctive work as her little daughter crashed to death before her, and in the blackness of bereavement she was directed by a friend to visit those who had worse sorrows to bear and needed mother-love. She was sent to a refuge for fallen women. She became thenceforth the harlots' friend. She mothered them ; took them to her own house ; gave up her one spare bedroom to girls dying from horrible diseases ; won many back to peace with God. She always spoke to them as a fellow-sinner : never dared to assume airs of moral superiority.

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Then came the challenge of those Acts for the State regulation of vice, the aim of which was by submitting women to periodical outrages of inspection to make vice safer for men. The God-denying and God-defying plea was raised that prostitution was a necessity for army and navy if not for most of the male sex. Protest arose, but too many even among the churches shrank from dealing with this unsavoury subject. And as women had no votes, the only way they could make their grievance heard was by public meeting. Mrs. Butler, who had never spoken in public before, was now called to speak, and on this subject ! Procurers and politicians roused howling mobs against her ; she was threatened with violence and death ; once her meeting-place was set fire to ; and the ostentatious aloofness of the respectable churchgoers was not wanting. With the courage of Joan of Arc and with something of the same magnetism of womanhood, she led the movement through eighteen bitter years to victory. She became the leader of the European campaign against State regulation of vice. To know the facts, and especially the human facts, she plunged into the loathsome inferno. She went through brothel after brothel in the cities of Europe. She roused the meetings of the International Federation for coping with this horror to fresh energy and enthusiasm. She prepared the way for the campaign against that infamous traffic in women and children which is now being fought by the League

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of Nations. She was indomitable and invincible. A biographer says "Her strength lay in the mystic sense of the presence of Christ." She would at times exclaim to friends, "O I have had such a happy hour with Jesus : He has spoken to me." Speak He did, to her and through her : "God gives us a vocabulary," even on such subjects, that does not offend. This solitary woman, frail and gentle, who did all that she did through Him that strengthened her, probably did more to raise the world's standard of respect for woman as woman than any other single personality.

Womanhood, so piercingly vindicated, could not long be kept from equal citizenship. In this matter too the initiative of the Quakers should be borne in mind. The first society to be formed in this country to demand votes for women, was one in Sheffield in 1857, by a Quakeress, Anne Kent. Undoubtedly that unconscious Christian John Stuart Mill, did much by pen in Parliament ; the "emancipated" woman had her share ; but the real conversion of the people to woman's Suffrage was far more due to God-inspired women like Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler, Catharine Booth and their religious following. The average elector did not read J. S. Mill, but these women—they were everywhere in evidence, "Epistles of Christ read and known of all men." What finally brought the nation over to votes for women was no theoretic argument, but the splendid service rendered with

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convincing efficiency by women during the Great War. In February, 1918, a glad thanksgiving for the extension of the franchise was led by Mrs. Fawcett and ladies representing the enfranchised womanhood of New Zealand (1893), of Australia (1896), of Finland (1906), of Norway (1907), of Denmark—a worthy acknowledgment of the Source whence victory had come. In the United States the first woman's suffrage convention met in 1848, but 21 years elapsed before the State of Wyoming made women electors. Progress was more rapid about the turn of the century, until in 1920 women obtained the Federal Franchise. One can well imagine what great results will follow for the Kingdom of God when Woman has received from the hand of Christ emancipation, education, enfranchisement, equal status with man. It means the calling in as His reserves, in many spheres hitherto almost unused, one half of humanity.

§ 10. *Christian Socialism*

Menace of Chartism. F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Ludlow adopted the Name, ran a Journal, founded Workingmen's College, promoted Co-operation; failed in Definite Ventures. Kolping's Catholic Working Men's Association absorbed by Archbishop Ketteler's "Christian Socialism." What the Name means on the Continent. Value of the Movement; its Defects.

The wave of revolution which swept over Europe in 1848 surged menacingly in this country under the guise of Chartism. The Chartist demonstration on Kennington Common, April 10th, brought together in alarm to the house of F. D. MAURICE (1805-1872),

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Charles KINGSLEY (1819-1875) preacher-poet-novelist, and LUDLOW, a young lawyer fresh from Paris in revolution. Ludlow insisted that "Socialism must be Christianized, or it would shake Christianity to its foundations." Together for 17 weeks they brought out a paper called *Politics for the People*. In December 1849 they met at Ludlow's house and decided to adopt the term "Christian Socialism." Maurice said "that is the only title that will define our object and commit us to the conflict with the unsocial Christians and the unChristian Socialists." Next year they started a weekly *Christian Socialist* which in its turn also perished. The movement was a noble outburst of idealism, worthy of its founder whom Gladstone described as "a splendour of God." It raised a needed religious protest against the Manchester School. It passed the "Co-operative Charter" through Parliament in 1852 and gave high ideals to the whole Co-operative movement. It founded the Working men's College in 1854: there Ruskin came; and it pioneered the way which Ruskin took. But it lacked economic grasp and knowledge of actual working men. Its leaders confessed "they did not know a single working man of the thinking and reading class." Hence their ideals were too abstract and their associations generally did not *work*. The Rochdale pioneers, starting four years earlier, succeeded where Maurice and Kingsley failed. And the movement was conceived in a panic.

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Christian Socialism in GERMANY had a different origin. In 1847 a devout Catholic workingman, Kolping by name, went about gathering the workers into "Catholic Working Men's Associations." The movement grew and lasted, numbering in 1871 more than 70,000 members. Then Ketteler, Archbishop of Mainz, was roused by the appeals of Lasalle and warmly espoused from the 'sixties forward the cause of "Christian Socialism," which took over Kolping's Associations and became powerful in the Reichstag. The Protestant "Christian Socialism" of the court preacher Stocker was transparently a defence of Church and State and degenerated into Anti-Semitism. In Austria the "Christian Socialists" gained a large number of seats in the Reichstag, but were merely the Clerical Party—"a patronage of working men in the interests of Rome." In Belgium "Christian Socialism" is strong. It pressed for the organization of industry under paternal employers in a Christian and fraternal spirit.

"Christian Socialism" is thus a very elastic term, but all its developments, Protestant and Catholic, English, Belgian, German and Austrian, have certain features in common. Its great value lies in its appeal to the Christian conscience of the community, chiefly among the middle and upper classes : it has led prelates and statesmen and monarchs to connect their religion and morals with the condition of the people. But it is open to grave objections. In

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origin, it owes its existence to non-Christian Socialism rather than to a genuine development of the Christian religion. Its motive, however exalted, was too largely dread of the revolutionary movement : it was a panic measure, taken to protect Church and State. The very phrase makes Socialism the substantive and Christian a mere adjective.

§ 11. *Social Settlements*

Samuel Barnett and his Wife. Arnold Toynbee. Toynbee Hall. Jane Addams. American Settlements. Source of Social Legislation—Old Age Pensions, Old Age Homes, Housing, and Locomotion. Confluence of Broad Church and Methodist Movements. The Labour Movement in Religion.

The growth of the great city in modern times has developed a grave social danger, in the residential separation of the classes. The population sorts itself out into the suburbs of the rich and the central swarms of the poor. Christian neighbourliness becomes difficult ; civic stability is menaced ; local severance too easily drifts into social antagonism. To remedy this evil, perilous to all classes alike, there arose in the close of the 19th century, under the direct compulsion of the Christian spirit, the Social Settlement. In 1873 Samuel Barnett and Henrietta his wife, both of well-to-do families, deliberately chose as their first home and sphere of service St. Jude's, Whitechapel, "the worst parish in the diocese of London." Then they began to interest Oxford undergraduates in the work and induced several of them to stay for a week or two in White-

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chapel—among the rest Arnold Toynbee (1852–1883). In the rooms of the future Archbishop of York, in Oxford, the idea of a Settlement was set a-going and eventuated in the erection of Toynbee Hall, so named on the anniversary of Arnold's death (1884). Benjamin Jowett has testified that "the imitation of Christ" was to Toynbee the essence of Christianity; he saw the poor "as they were in the presence of God; he thought of them as heirs of immortality." To embody this spirit the first Settlement was born. One of the largest Settlements in the world was founded in 1889 at Hull House, Chicago, by Miss Jane ADDAMS, who rose to be one of the foremost women in the Republic, and she found in Settlements a sign of "a renaissance of Christianity." In a kindred spirit were initiated most of the fifty Settlements in the British Isles and of the four hundred in the United States. Similar institutions have also sprung up in many countries in Europe and in far-away Japan. The general idea—of bringing members of all classes together in true neighbourliness and so of mutual knowledge and understanding—has undergone a great variety of expression, according to the differences of district and of staff. Almost every kind of social agency has found its place in Settlements, for the several ages and groupings of life, with every kind of service by residents in the local government. Wherever a need in the neighbourhood is found, the Settlement strives to meet it so far as its resources, personal and

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pecuniary, permit. There are Women's Settlements worked alone or in conjunction with men's ; in America men and women mostly work together in the same Settlement ; and the greatest Settlements are those captained by women.

American Settlements not only bring together members of different social grades : they have the more difficult task of fusing into a common citizenship well nigh all peoples, nations and languages. The experience of a generation has shown the salutary influence of Settlements on the purity and efficiency of local administration, in training future statesmen for their work, in preparing the raw material of social legislation, in promoting international comity, in pioneering all manner of social experiments, and in encouraging the development of organized Labour. The defects of " Christian Socialism " were remedied by the grim discipline of fact enforced in the Settlement.

The Browning Settlement, situate in the Southwark Poor Law Union, where aged pauperism was at its highest, was the means, under strong religious impulse, of taking up the demand for Old Age Pensions which had been dropped by both the political parties, and, by uniting in its support Organized Labour and Organized Religion, secured the Act of 1908. Based on experience in its homes for old folk and in the Durham and Northumberland Miners' Homes for their Aged, the same Settlement was promoting a Bill for National Old Age Homes,

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when, unexpectedly, these were made legally possible by a Housing Act passed on the outbreak of the World-war. The Browning Hall Conference united leaders of all Churches and members of all Parties in Mr. Charles Booth's demand for Improved Locomotion as the first step to solving the Housing problem, and for a centralized administration of the whole of the Metropolitan traffic, the wisdom of which measures has been abundantly verified by two decades of increasing congestion. In some of the British Settlements the Broad Church movement, represented by Maurice, Kingsley, and above all by Barnett, has met in many Labour Leaders a social outcome of the Methodist movement ; together they promise to develop what is called The Labour Movement in Religion. At Browning Hall, in South London, for example, the foremost of British and even European Labour Leaders have enforced the claims of personal and social evangelism, through annual Labour Weeks and publications in nine languages, on the workers of the world.

Whatever changes may be introduced by social legislature of a kind to relieve Settlements of much of their educational and eleemosynary work, Mrs. Barnett sees a great future for Settlements in keeping the classes in friendly touch, and in bringing home to the workers the value of History and Art. The initiators of many of the most distinctive Settlements were impelled to the work by a spiritual crisis and a touch at least of the mind of St. Francis ; perhaps

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the second generation of Settlement workers tends to become professional and institutional and look askance at anything like a Franciscan passion of sacrifice. Nevertheless, Social Settlements have made no small contribution to the exemplification of Social Christianity.

§ 12. *Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.*

Young Men's Christian Association : Extent, Numbers, Programme, Renown. Origin in one Evangelical Soul. George Williams ; Conversion, Work in his own Firm ; the Idea broached. The Y.M.C.A. founded in his Bedroom. David Naismith's earlier Work in Glasgow. "Greatest Voluntary Organisation known." Young Women's Christian Association : Two Sources. Present Extent : its Enthusiasm for Labour and Social Reform. Influences on the nascent Church of China.

Among all the organized forms of Social Christianity, few, if any, are more widely extended or better known than the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION. It is at work in fifty countries. It employs about 7,500 secretaries. Its members and associates number about two millions. Active and prominent in almost every great town, it did perhaps its greatest service to humanity, and certainly gained its greatest renown, in the World-war. As is well-known, it ministers to every side of the life of boyhood and youth, physical, recreational, mental and spiritual. Its programme has grown to be exceeding broad. Yet the whole of this vast organization sprang from the perfervid evangelism and passion for souls found in the heart of one man. It was no creation of merely humanitarian impulse. Like most of the social movements we have described, it

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owed its origin to the intensest—some would say the narrowest—form of Evangelical belief. GEORGE WILLIAMS (1821–1905), a native of Devonshire, brought up in the Church of England, went as draper's assistant to Bridgewater, attended the Congregational Church there, and one evening, when only 16 years of age, he returned from the chapel, “knelt down at the back of the shop and gave his heart to God.” He took up active Christian service, and was much influenced by the writings of Finney, the revivalist. Moving to London at 19, he entered the firm of Messrs. Hitchcock with a salary of £40 a year. Two years previously he had become a pledged teetotaller. Even of his small income he was giving away regularly two-thirds. Yet he was a keen and successful business man and rose to be partner in the firm. But his chief aim was to practise and propagate religion.

He found his opportunity among the young men employed along with him. The lot of shop assistants was then very hard. They were worked fearfully long hours, sometimes from six in the morning till midnight. They lived in their place of business. The only provision for their scant leisure was that supplied by the tavern, the gaming table and still darker pleasures. Williams found out a Christian comrade, started a prayer meeting, and made the conversion of man after man the subject of earnest and later of concerted prayer. He was an intense believer in prayer and often

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received in prayer the assurance of answer, on which he acted as a certain fact. Conversions multiplied ; the prayer meeting increased in numbers and fervour.

One night, on Blackfriars Bridge, when returning from Surrey Chapel, Williams said to Edward Beaumont, who was with him, "Teddy, are you prepared to make a sacrifice for Christ?" Then for the first time Williams poured out the pent-up purpose of his soul. He said he had been "deeply impressed with the importance of introducing religious services, such as they had enjoyed in his own firm, into every large establishment in London"; he thought "if a few earnest, devoted and self-denying men could be found to unite themselves for the purpose, that with earnest prayer God would smile upon the effort and much good might be done."

So, on June 6, 1844, twelve young men met in Williams' bedroom and founded the Young Men's Christian Association. The only contemporary record of the event which has been preserved is found in the diary of Edward Valentine: "Met in George Williams' room for the purpose of forming a society the object of which is to influence religious young men to spread the Redeemer's Kingdom amongst those by whom they are surrounded." Of the first twelve, three were Episcopalians, three Congregationalists, three Methodists, and three Baptists. It spread rapidly. It absorbed the work of another great Social Christian, David NAISMITH, the father of city missions in Glasgow and London,

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who started in 1824 the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement. This had its branches in France and America as well as in Great Britain, but finally merged in the Y.M.C.A. The three chief factors of the Y.M.C.A. were said to be "personal contact, united prayer and Bible study." Amid all the expansions of its work, from the narrowest Evangelical origins to the broadest social service, the Y.M.C.A. has stood by its original Evangelical basis. It has become a world-organization with headquarters at Geneva. More than a dozen years ago, the value of its buildings all over the world was put at about twelve millions sterling. It is said that the Y.M.C.A. "shares with the Red Cross the honour of being the greatest voluntary organization known to history."

Sir George Williams (knighted on the jubilee of the Y.M.C.A.) had thoughts in early days of founding "a Young Ladies' Christian Association." The work was put into other hands. In 1855 Miss Robarts with her Prayer Union, and Lady Kinnaird with her London homes for girls in business, started the movements which coalesced in 1877 in the YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION. This organization has naturally been engaged in less obtrusive service than has fallen to the lot of the Young Men. But it too is now a world-body, with 8,802 branches in 27 countries, and a membership of very nearly a million. In dealing with modern social problems, it has shown more daring than the

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Y.M.C.A., and is consequently less in favour with "Big Business." It has striven in many lands to bring the religious and the Labour movements into closer and happier relations. And it was thanks to the World Y.W.C.A. that the first conference representative of all Protestant bodies in China voted for the adoption of Western protective legislation for workers in factory and mine.

§ 13. *The Salvation Army and Kindred Movements*

Methodist Origin. William Booth and Catharine Booth, Wesleyans, then New Connexionists, then Founders of the Army. "Darkest England" Scheme the "Natural Outcome" of Salvationism and Christianity. Social Plant worth a Million Sterling. The Church Army. In Germany: Innere Mission. Thomas Chalmers' Plan: "Elberfeld System." In France: Oberlin and his Social Pastorate.

The Salvation Army is another and wide-flowing stream that sprang from the Methodist "river of life." William BOOTH (1829-1912) and Catharine BOOTH (1829-1890) were, to begin with, loyal members of the Wesleyan body. Born the same year and "born again" in the same year (1844), both had the old Methodist consuming passion for souls. William declared himself converted by no human agency, but by the direct action of the Holy Spirit, and began to show his exceptional evangelistic gifts as an unconventional "local preacher." Because of his sympathies with the "Reform" movement he was cut off from Wesleyan membership; and entered the ministry of the New Connexion Methodists in 1852. Married three

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years later, William and Catharine joined in a complete unity of vocation and gave eminent proof that Christian marriage and Christian family life furthered, not hindered, devotion to the widest and intensest evangelism. William, having shown his wonderful power in converting men and women in circuit after circuit, begged to be released from circuit routine that he might devote himself entirely to evangelistic work, but was refused by the Connexion. So for four years he went about independently as a travelling evangelist.

In 1865 the Booths commenced in Whitechapel the Christian Mission which in 1878 assumed the name "Salvation Army." The "Female Ministry" which Catharine defended in print as far back as 1859 and practised from 1860, became a most powerful arm of the service: Catharine's own penetrating eloquence went home to all classes. The Army spread with phenomenal rapidity right round the globe. Then was proved once more, with inexorable cogency, that those who set out in the name of Christ to save the souls of men must go on to bless their bodies, and that the most perfervid individual evangelism must, by the immanent logic of the Evangel, develop into Social Christianity. The Salvation Army in 1891 evolved a Social Wing. This was no sudden spurt.

A year before his death William Booth said: "Our social operations are the natural outcome of Salvationism, or of Christianity as instituted,

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described, proclaimed and exemplified in the life, teaching, and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Social work has harmonized with my own personal idea of true religion from the hour I promised obedience to the commands of God." It "was the natural outcome of the Life that came to me through believing in Jesus Christ." From so red-hot a revivalist this testimony is weighty indeed, even though we may not accept the proud boast which followed : " Social work, as a separate entity or department of the Kingdom of Christ, recognised, organized and provided for, had to wait for the Salvation Army." He went on to tell how naturally it had grown. First the Army fed the hungry in times of bitter distress. Then in 1883 a Salvationist baker's wife opened her house to fallen girls ; whence sprang the first rescue home. About the same time Salvationists in Victoria (Australia) started the first Prison Brigade, and their first rescue home in Melbourne received £1,000 from the Colonial Government. In 1887 came the first Men's Shelter, in Limehouse, and the first Inebriates' Home, in Toronto. Similar efforts at social redemption were started in many places round the world.

Then in 1890 just after the death of Catharine, William published " In Darkest England and the Way Out," which gathered up all his social experience and observation in a request for £100,000 capital and £30,000 annual income, to raise the submerged tenth. He got the initial sum, but not

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the annual income asked for. Just before his death, he could say that the value of all properties held for the use of his Social Operations was, in the United Kingdom £228,000, in other countries £747,000, in all £975,000, or in round figures about a million sterling. The scheme was fairly complete, beginning with prisoners' aid, shelters, rescue homes, workshops, industrial and farm colonies, and ending with emigration on a large scale—which actually began with the despatch of a thousand emigrants in 1905. In 1901 a Reliance Bank was added.

Mobbed by infuriated "Skeleton Armies" in the earlier years of his work, Booth lived long enough to see his work supported by Dominion Governments and himself honoured by many of the crowned heads of the world.

A similar Agency, known as the Church Army, was founded by Wilson CARLILE in 1882, who developed, amid the slums of Westminster, working men and women into "Church of England Evangelists." In 1888 it started Labour Homes, which grew to more than a hundred. It has a great variety of social agencies for relief and renewal, including a system of emigration.

In Germany the shock of the revolutionary year 1848 roused the Protestant Church to the condition of the vast masses of the population which lay outside all churches, and induced the acceptance of WICHERN's proposal of an "Innere Mission," directed to the spiritual and social welfare of the

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churchless multitudes. Among the agencies developed by the Innere Mission are mentioned cripple and infant schools, rescue homes, care of the poor and sick, of the idiot and epileptic, clubs for apprentices, journeymen and lads, home-like lodging-houses (*Herberge zur Heimath*), training schools for domestic service, care for the floating working-class population, war against beggary, drunkenness, and prostitution, service of prisoners and their families, care of discharged prisoners ; and at work in all these ways, institutes of Brothers and Deaconesses. In Germany, too, sprang up in 1852 what has become widely known as the Elberfeld system, which, consciously or unconsciously, adopted the idea of a great Social Christian who died in Scotland only five years previously.

Thomas CHALMERS (1780-1847), preacher, professor, Church leader, was also a keen-eyed social reformer. He strongly opposed the English system of levying rates for the support of the poor ; he believed that the Christian method was to help the poor to self-help, to draw out their own resources, and to do this by the neighbourly friendship of the Church. He undertook the charge of the parish of St. John's in Glasgow, consisting of 2,000 families, divided it into 25 districts of a group of families each, appointed over each a deacon, who had first to establish friendly relations with each family on grounds altogether distinct from relief. Then he had to stimulate the workers to industry, and to

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economy, to seek out relatives who might help, to appeal to neighbours for, perhaps, joint effort; if these efforts failed, to apply as last resort to the fund supplied by the Sunday evening collection at the church, when only the parishioners were allowed to attend. The plan succeeded well, morally, socially and financially ; and lasted for fourteen years after Chalmers left. It was superseded by the poor rate. To attain permanent success, it needed to be applied, not to one parish, but to all ; and to depend on a sufficient supply of the right kind of deacon.

In Elberfeld, the pious city councillor Daniel von der HEYDT was reading in his Bible in 1852 Jethro's advice to Moses to devolve his work of judging on rulers of thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens, when it occurred to him that this was the method of organizing care of the poor in his city. As now developed in Elberfeld and Leipzig and other German towns, every well-to-do citizen (not clergymen) is expected to be willing to serve as a helper to 2 or 3 or 4 families in the district in which he resides. Each dozen helpers has over it a president; these presidents in turn form a central board with the city Poor Authority, which dispenses the city's poor fund. By this minute and graded method of neighbourly inspection, with the power and honour of the city behind it, 500 helpers in Elberfeld and 1,000 in Leipzig relieve poverty, maintain self-respect, promote civic solidarity. The idea common to Chalmers' and Heydt's schemes is

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kindly neighbourly supervision, as opposed to the official routine of the poor law or the inquisitorial ignorance of the Charity Organization Society.

In France, during the revolutionary period, the greatest Protestant name in the roll of Social Christianity is Jean Frederic OBERLIN (1740-1822). For his wild mountain parish of Ban de la Roche he did almost everything, religiously, socially and economically that a pastor could conceivably do. Himself intensely devout, with stated periods for protracted prayer, able after his noble wife's death to spend an hour a day communing with her in the Unseen, he introduced whatever he thought would be of service to the material welfare of his parishioners. He brought them a better kind of potato, and when that flourished he arranged for the sale of their surplus crop. He induced the people to make good roads, working amongst them with his pick, and then to construct bridges. He had the children taught the quality and worth of the plants growing around them, and trained them in planting fruit-trees ; and that adults might follow suit, he had the trees planted by public footpaths. He introduced agricultural implements, prizes for cattle and produce, the making of butter, the cultivation of flax, the spinning of wool and cotton, printing press and fire-engines. He seems to have anticipated Boy Scouts by forming his school boys into companies with sentinels, captains and generals. He sent bright boys to learn the craft of blacksmiths and other artisans. He kept a

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surgery, sent an assistant to learn medicine, and women of the village to learn midwifery. His wife brought schoolmistresses and sisters of providence. To overcome sleepiness in church, he allowed his hearers to knit during service. He was deposed and arrested under Robespierre, but was freed at that tyrant's death. He left no "order" behind him, but his life is an abiding inspiration to every true social pastor.

§ 14. *Housing*

George Cadbury: Man of Business; Effect of Adult School on him; Model Employer; Founder of Bournville Village; Secret of his Life "Guidance"; Evening in the Garden. Lever Brothers and Port Sunlight. Mrs. Barnett and Garden Suburb.

THE HOUSING question, or the provision of proper dwellings for the people, had been handled by several kindly employers in improved villages for their workpeople; but in our own time, its general advance owes most, in concrete actuality, to the "practical mystic" George CADBURY (1839-1922). He was a Quaker, a hard-working, enterprising business man, who built up with his brother Richard a huge and prosperous Cocoa concern, and himself died worth five millions sterling. As a worker in the Adult school and as visitor of its members, he discovered the very painful conditions under which many of them lived. In his own words, "the Adult School made me a Radical." He moved his works into the country, to Bournville, made them beautiful, airy, and attractive with baths and sports, and then

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set about building there a model village, not for his workpeople alone, but as a practical contribution to the general housing problem. It became a workers' paradise, with great variety of road and garden and style of cottage, and never more than thirteen dwellings to the acre. It extended to more than 800 acres. It paid its way. It was invested in a national trust, the profits to be reinvested in an extension of the scheme. It is now worth about half a million sterling. It has invested £16,000 in the Garden City at Letchworth, and holds shares in the Hampstead Garden Suburb.

The secret of George Cadbury's life, with its manifold beneficence, was stated by one who knew him well to be "Guidance." He always consulted his Unseen Chief and acted on instructions received. The close of the day he spent in his garden in silence "listening to that Inner Voice," "realizing the presence of God." So through his obedient soul came from the Unseen one of the most beautiful and fruitful devices for giving the people the right sort of homes.

With a kindred motive Lever Brothers have made Port Sunlight a fair dwelling-place for their workers, and urge the widest adoption of what they have found to be sound business. A poetic beauty attaches to the fact that Mrs. Barnett crowns her long life of service in the slums of Whitechapel by founding the Garden Suburb at West Hampstead, so as to enable people of all classes, rich and poor, to

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live together as neighbours in delightful surroundings. These actual precedents, animated by the truest Christian motives, are being widely followed.

§ 15. *Social Teaching of the Period*

Kant's Christian Origins and Ideas. Saint-Simon's New Christianity. Comte, a Blind Prophet of Christianity. "Social Organism" developed by him and Herbert Spencer. Rothe's Church disappearing in the Christian State, the Universal Organism of States. Ritschl's "Kingdom of God on Earth" the Nerve of Social Christianity and Note of New Era. Carlyle's "Condition of England" Question. Ruskin; his Last Word. "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" multiplied by Journalism. Leo XIII. on Condition of Working Classes. Archbishop Davidson's demand for the Abolition of Poverty. Lambeth Conference, 1920. Federal Council of Churches in U.S.A. Social Unions. Adult Schools. Brotherhoods. *Le Christianisme Social*.

The Christian Social Teaching of this period, extending over a century and a half, was naturally voluminous and varied. Only a very few typical instances can be cited here. The Christian influences which came to Immanuel KANT (1724-1804) from his Scottish grandfather and his pietistic father appear in his shifting the centre of gravity in philosophy from the Pure Reason to the Practical Reason, or in commoner language from the mere intellect to the conscience; and in his introducing into philosophy from the Gospel the idea of the Kingdom of God. This Kingdom of Ends saves him from the abstract universalism, almost akin to Stoic individualism, of his first and second "categorical imperatives," and supplies him with a genuinely social principle—of a Kingdom in which each member is at once not merely an end in him-

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self but at the same time also a means to the ends of others. Its goal is an all inclusive fellowship of men obedient to the laws of virtue. His way to "Perpetual Peace" is laid down in three Articles :
1. "The civil constitution in every State shall be Republican," based on Liberty as men, on Dependence as subjects, and on Equality as citizens.
2. "The Right of nations (*Völkerrecht*) shall be founded on a Federation of free States."
3. "The Right of men as World-citizens (*Weltbürgerrecht*) shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality." Kant unhesitatingly demands that the relations of States must be according to the moral law ; "Seek ye first the Kingdom of the Practical Reason, and Peace shall be added unto you."

SAINT-SIMON (1760-1825) who is spoken of as the founder of French Socialism, aimed at "an industrial State directed by modern science in which universal association should suppress war." He summed up his "New Christianity" with its faith in God in the formula : "The whole of society ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class ; society ought to organize itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end"—the old objective of "the least of these My brethren."

Auguste COMTE (1798-1857) was a blind prophet of Christianity, blinded by his Positivism, but able to value the vast service made by the Church to human progress, and over against the fashion of a

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“ rational self-love ” and self-interest, laid Christian stress on altruism. He developed what was really Paul’s idea of the Social Organism : “ Humanity is the chief of organisms ” : and while discarding its personal unity as found by Paul in the Christ, he had to import (metaphysical contraband smuggled over the Positivist frontier) the Great Being of Humanity as object of worship. So blindly and illogically he felt in the *Grand Être* after One whom we worship as Christ, and in the “ chief of organisms ” we recognise His body. This Religion of Humanity has made Positivists some of the most valiant defenders of the rights of coloured races.

The parable of the Social Organism is expanded and expounded with great fertility of illustration by Herbert SPENCER (1820–1903) who makes palpably evident the unity and reciprocity of social life, but suddenly (perhaps to save his individualism) breaks the parallel between the individual and the social organism and instead of finding a closer and more compact unity in the social than in the individual organism, as the trend of evolution set forth by him would require, declares the only unity to be the connective influence of language spoken or charactered : the social organism has no central censorium, still less personal unity. This defect shows Paul the more consistent evolutionary thinker.

Reverting to German thinkers, we find in Richard ROTHE (1799–1867) the thought that lies at the back of the mind of many Englishmen to-day, that the

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moral community develops through the stages of the family, the tribe, Peoples and States, and the Church, but gradually displaces the Church in the fuller life of the Christian State. So he arrives at the grand international idea of "the Universal Organism of States" which "must be conceived as the Kingdom of God in its uttermost completeness."

Albrecht RITSCHL (1822-1889) with his following in many lands has flung into the forefront of the world's religious thinking Jesus' central idea of the Kingdom of God. As emphasis on Paul's conviction of Justification by Faith made the Reformation, so the emphasis, due largely to Ritschl, now laid on the Kingdom of God according to Jesus, is the religious basis of the new Social Era. Ritschl defines it as "the reciprocal relation between God and men which is the Highest Good and, at the same time, the appointed task of life," or "the organization of humanity by means of conduct prompted by love," or, still more briefly, as "organized love." The Divine value of the historic Jesus, and absorption in seeking to realise the Kingdom of God on earth, may have been allowed to cast other truths into shadow, but have undoubtedly supplied a most powerful impetus to social service. They have been the life of Social Christianity.

Some thinkers have indeed affirmed there has been no Social Christianity on the earth from the Ascension of Jesus to the middle of last century ; only since the latter date have Christians realised

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that the aim of their religion is not their own individual salvation but the establishment on earth of the Kingdom of God. This is an exaggeration, as all the previous pages prove ; but it shows the force with which the central theme of the Gospel, now given its rightful place, impresses modern minds.

Against the soul-destroying falsities of the current individualism and Mammonism a flaming protest was raised by Thomas CARLYLE (1795-1881), who hurled upon the conscience of his countrymen " the condition of England question " (1843), there to remain, blistering and goading, until it is answered. On him succeeded in loyal continuity John RUSKIN (1819-1900), scarifying the fashionable economists, and calling men back to conscience and to Christ. " Unto this Last " is one of the most rousing and instructive text-books in Social Christianity, and its conclusion " There is no wealth but life " is Christian Economics in a nutshell. In the last number of *Fors Clavigera* he sums up the conclusion of his strenuous life : " All the world is but as one orphanage, so long as its children know not God their Father ; and all wisdom and knowledge is only more bewildered darkness, so long as you have not taught them the fear of the Lord."

The London Congregational Union published in 1885 a pamphlet entitled " The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," setting forth the harrowing facts disclosed by a special investigation. It was a frightful revelation of the darkest depths of poor

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London life. It was driven home on the public by the newspapers. Further disclosures were flung into the aroused conscience. "Slumming" became a fashionable pastime. Its greatest effect was not on the Congregational Churches but on the Wesleyans. Hugh Price HUGHES seized the opportunity to lead a forward movement, secured for great-city work a rescission of the rule that every minister must move on after three years in a circuit, and established the West London Mission. It was the first of a large brood. The Central Missions conducted by the Wesleyans in most of the great towns and accompanied with an array of social agencies have proved a remarkable success. They have brought the people together in crowds and have added an important feature to the life of our large towns. They have blended personal and social evangelism in a white heat of enthusiasm.

And the great leaders of the Church, not always first to speak, have not been silent. Pope LEO XIII., in his Encyclical of 1891, declared, "Some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly on the vast majority of the working classes. To gather one's profit out of the need of another is condemned by all laws, human and Divine. Remuneration ought to be sufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner. The condition of the working classes is the pressing question of the hour." Archbishop DAVIDSON, addressing his

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Diocese in Canterbury Cathedral in 1911 said, "I am prepared quite deliberately to express my own belief that, given a little time, say a couple of generations, for bringing about the change, real poverty of the extreme sort, crushing, degrading poverty, ought to be, and in a Christian land like ours, might be, practically abolished altogether. I do not believe that anything short of that will satisfy even elementarily the conditions of Christian brotherhood." The Report of the Lambeth Conference of 252 Anglican Bishops in 1920 contains much valuable teaching on social topics and it is much more outspoken than ecclesiastical documents are expected to be. The Federal Council of Churches in the United States has not merely issued a very advanced social programme, but keeps its constituents posted up on current questions. Almost all the denominations have committees appointed to consider social questions from the Christian standpoint ; and there are Christian social unions conveying useful social education. There has just come to hand a report of the Australian Episcopal Church on the actual cures wrought in a mission of healing.

Among disseminators of Christian Social teaching may be reckoned the Adult Schools or conversation classes of working men, and the Sunday Afternoon Brotherhoods. These latter supply a most valuable platform for religious experts on questions national and international. Already movements for Old Age

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Pensions, Old Age Homes and the Abolition of War have been launched on the public by Brotherhoods. They may or may not do much practical work, but they are admirable agencies for propaganda.

In a similar category may be put the great movement in France for Social Christianity. Essentially Protestant, it has found in the phrase of the Catholic thinker Bordas-Dumoulin—*le Christianisme social*—the clearest description, and one least open to misconstruction, of its nature and object. It combines various societies which have been founded with kindred aims, from 1887 to the French Federation of Brotherhoods formed in 1922. Its avowed purpose is by study and service to prepare the way to the Christianization of the social order. The economist Gide used the movement to advance Co-operation. Pastor E. Gounelle is its chief exponent.

§ 16. *The Christian Religion as Empire-builder*

Religious Colonization in the Nineteenth Century. Free Kirk Settlement in Otago. High Church Colony at Canterbury (N.Z.). Missionaries as "Land Sharks." Presbyterian and Anglican Contribution to New Zealand's Repute. Sir GEORGE GREY: Type of many Empire-builders; the Sermon on the Mount his Great Charter; Love irrespective of Colour. His Generosity. His Imperial Policy. His Faith in Anglo-Saxon Federation. His certainty of Divine Guidance. His Defiance of Downing Street. A Saviour and Leader of the Empire.

Religious colonization of the unoccupied regions of the earth was not so marked a feature of the 19th century as it had been of the 17th and even 18th century. But it still appeared. Edward Gibbon Wakefield pressed his schemes for "the

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cure and prevention of pauperism by means of systematic colonization " on the unwilling ears of the British Government. But his message fell into religious minds. In 1843 a Scottish company was formed " for the purpose of promoting emigration of persons belonging to the Free Kirk." In 1848, accordingly, the *John Wickliffe* brought the first body of Free Kirk settlers to New Zealand. They occupied Otago in South Island, and made Dunedin their capital. At the end of the first year the total population numbered 745, of whom 476 were Presbyterians. Each property was to consist of quarter of an acre of town land, ten acres of suburban land, and fifty rural acres. Of the proceeds three-eighths went to emigration, two-eighths to roads, one-eighth to religion and education, and two-eighths to the purchase of the land.

Much greater notoriety attached to the scheme proposed by Wakefield and supported by archbishops, bishops, noblemen, and gentlemen, for planting a High Church colony on what became known as Canterbury, North of Otago. This Puseyite descent on New Zealand, as the Low Churchmen called it, took place in 1850-1851, and planted 2,600 settlers. A single year saw the collapse of the scheme, and the Government withdrew the charter because the directors were unable to pay for the land ; but the success of the colony was assured. These High Church and Free Kirk immigrants were a most valuable contribution to the nascent life of the

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whole Colony. Many of the missionaries before them were convicted of playing "land-shark" for their Societies ; Anglican missionaries claimed 216,000 acres, but the Government Commissioners only allowed them out of this total 66,000 acres. This "land-sharking" was the cause of native insurrections. But that was rectified by a Christian Governor. New Zealand has won the reputation of being the most progressive part of the British Empire : in her social legislation she has given the model and set the pace of reform for other Dominions and for the Home Country. The character of her sons in the World-war shone out conspicuous and was in general highly admired. The religious colonies of Otago and Canterbury undoubtedly had their influence in creating this high standard of personal and social conduct. The excellent effect on the moral and public life of young South Australia produced by Nonconformist settlers was warmly applauded by Sir George Grey, when Governor of that colony.

Out of a host of empire-builders, throughout the British world, who drew the inspiration of their constructive work from the Gospel of Jesus, this same George GREY (1812-1897) stands out as at once the most typical and the most successful. He combined the daring of a conquistador, with the devotion and tenderness of a saint. He was never parted from his New Testament ; he took it with him in his most perilous adventures, and found in it, he said, comfort

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and sustainment. "The Sermon on the Mount," he declared, "is the Great Charter of mankind; it teaches the highest wisdom for all times and climes": it "inculcates in the human heart 'love of one's fellows irrespective of colour.'" So he paid natives at European rates; insisted on coloured troops receiving the same pension on retirement as the white received; was beloved of children, white and coloured alike. "The duty civilization owed to the native races," he affirmed, "was the larger in proportion to their state of darkness. He held this to be the simple rule for Christians." He spent most of his private income on the welfare of those he ruled. When the Home Government cut down the grant to Cape Colony, Grey out of his own purse made up the instalment of salaries due; an experience, it is said grimly, "he had to repeat on a larger scale." With all this gentleness and generosity went a sense of the highest destiny which lifted him to the level of the makers of the world. His policy for the Empire has been thus described:

"Did it rest its control of the nations successively adopted into it upon their fears, upon a compelled obedience? Why, it would but grow the weaker as it spread, until eventually the time must arrive when from its very vastness, it would fall into fragments. On the other hand, if, as it spread its dominion, it also spread equal laws, the Christian faith, Christian knowledge and Christian virtues, it would link firmly

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to itself, by the ties of love and gratitude, each nation it adopted."

The chief of the forces by which Providence was pressing forward the march of humanity was, in Grey's judgment, the evolution of the Anglo-Saxon race. He had absolute faith in the mission and destiny of the Anglo-Saxon people. He had ever as his aim Anglo-Saxon Federation, which once achieved, "war would practically die off the face of the earth." At a time when Liberal politicians at home regarded the disintegration of the British Empire as inevitable and acted accordingly, he was the prophet and father of the Federation of the English-speaking peoples. In this strong faith he dared to act in a way which brought dismay to Downing Street. He said :

"I feel that God communicates with His creatures when they please. He lets them know what is right and what is wrong, even argues with them. It was a comfort to me, in trying hours, to feel that I was working according to the way of my Maker, so far as I could comprehend it."

This certainty of Divine guidance he carried out resolutely as Governor of South Australia, twice Governor of New Zealand and later its Prime Minister, and as Governor of South Africa. He saved the Indian Empire by exceeding his powers and diverting troops under orders for China for the task of quelling the Mutiny. A constitution, sent out to him by the Colonial Office and passed by the

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British Parliament, he calmly refused to put into operation, and argued his case so well, that he was asked by the Home Government himself to draft a constitution ; and his constitution supplied the Duke of Newcastle with a model for the Canadian Constitution. His authority and initiative as Governor and Premier in New Zealand were among the most potent forces to exalt that Dominion to the pinnacle which it now occupies. He introduced Woman suffrage into the Empire and into the world. The influence of Woman, he believed, would immensely strengthen the Federal idea. Sir George Grey supplies us with the picture of an Imperial, nay, a world-Statesman, whose Great Charter was the Sermon on the Mount.

§ 17. *Towards the Organized Unity of Mankind*

Cloots' "Embassy of the Human Race" and "Universal Republic." Message that came to Alexander I. of Russia in Prayer. The Holy Alliance. Mazzini's Holy Alliance of the Peoples. International Exhibitions. Unity advancing in all Spheres save the Political. Union of States necessary to prevent War. Declaration of Paris begins Statutory International Law. Geneva Convention. W. E. Gladstone, elicitor of International Conscience in Alabama Arbitration and for Balkan Freedom. Crushing Competition in Armaments. Unseen Initiative leading to Hague Conferences. Obligatory Arbitration defeated by Powers who later made War on Civilization and were defeated by World Crusade to End all War. Christian Inspiration of Chief Artificers of Victory and Peace. The League of Nations an Imperfect Political Phase of the "Kingdom of God on Earth," partly fulfilling Isaiah and Daniel and continuing the Hague Conferences initiated from the Unseen.

The movement towards an ORGANIZED UNITY OF MANKIND received a vast impetus from the French Revolution, from the enthusiasm of humanity

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which attended its birth, and from the reaction aroused by Napoleon's attempts at a universal empire. Amid the throes of the new era, the old Roman-German Empire disappeared in 1806—a significant hint that the end of the ancient unity based on force was a prelude to the new unity to be based upon freedom. The ideal was melodramatically presented to the French Assembly in 1790, when Baron von Cloots, a Prussian noble of Dutch extraction and of revolutionary sympathies, appeared with 36 persons purporting to represent as many nations, as “an embassy of the human race,” to announce that the world had adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Assuming the title of the “orator of the human race,” he, two years later, to quote Carlyle, “proses sad stuff about a Universal Republic, or union of Peoples and Kindreds in one and the same fraternal bond ; of which bond, how it is to be *tied*, one unhappily sees not.”

ALEXANDER I., of Russia (1777–1825) thought he saw the way of tying it. Already in 1804 he outlined to his ambassador in London the provisions of a treaty which at the end of the war might form the basis of “the European Confederation,” postponing war till every resource of mediation by a third party had been exhausted. So birth might be given to “a League of which the stipulations would form a new code of the law of nations which, sanctioned by the greater part of the nations of Europe, would become the immutable rule of the cabinets, while those who

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should try to infringe it would risk bringing upon themselves the forces of the new union." But it was in 1815 that the Message came to him. In 1819 he told Stephen Grellet and William Allen, visiting him in St. Petersburg,

"how great his soul's travail had been that wars and bloodshed might cease for ever from the earth ; that he had passed sleepless nights on account of it, deeply deploring the woes and miseries brought to humanity by war ; and that whilst his mind was bowed before the Lord in prayer, the plan of all the Crowned Heads joining in the conclusion to submit to arbitration whatever differences might arise among them instead of resorting to the sword, had presented itself to his mind in such a manner that he rose from his bed and wrote what he had then so sensibly felt ; that his intentions had been misrepresented by some, but that love to God and to man was his only motive in the Divine sight. He was in Paris at the time he formed that plan."

As the interview with the two Quakers ended in prayer, "he was bathed in tears." Such was the origin of "the Holy Alliance" proclaimed by him in Paris in 1815. This document, which was eventually signed by all the European Powers except the Pope, Great Britain and Turkey, committed its signatories to "take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion" (of our Saviour) to "remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity" and "consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation." Though he

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personally held that "free constitutions were the logical outcome of its doctrines," this was the Romanoff ideal. It was sadly profaned and made an instrument of European reaction.

It roused Mazzini—who despite his disavowal of Christianity declared "we are here on earth to found, as far as in us lies, the image of the Kingdom of God *on earth*,"—to proclaim in 1835 "the Holy Alliance of the Peoples as the vastest formula of association possible in our epoch," with their liberty and equality duly safeguarded, and their nationality "which is the conscience of the peoples." These lofty aims were fostered in a very practical way by the First International Exhibition, held in London in 1851 under the patronage of Prince Albert—"Far-sighted summoner of War and Waste to fruitful strifes and rivalries of peace"—and by similar Exhibitions since in many lands, which struck out of poet-hearts the hope that commerce would increasingly prevail, "Till each man finds his own in all men's good, And all men join in noble brotherhood, Breaking their mailed fleets and armed towers."

During the last ten decades the actual unity of mankind has advanced with ever quickened pace, thanks to improved communication of life and thought. The railway, the steamship, and now the aeroplane and airship, have made all the world next door neighbours. The post, the telegraph, the telephone, the radiograph, with the aid of journalism,

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have promoted something closely approaching to a simultaneity of consciousness and of feeling throughout mankind. The economic interpenetration of all nations, despite walls of tariff, has brought about a world-wide interdependence ; the race has been compelled to regard its harvest as one, its shipping as one, and its credit as one. There is a more vivid realization than ever before of the Christian truth that in the international organism, " if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it."

But amidst this general unity, political unity lags behind. War is still possible ; and war is the absolute contradiction of unity ; it brings frightful injury to victors as well as vanquished, to neutrals as well as belligerents. Some union of governments is necessary, as had long been seen, if war is to be averted, and the unity everywhere else in process is not to be destroyed. There has been an increasing number of conventions between governments for postal, literary, and electrical convenience. But the main line of progress has been in concerted action of governments for the mitigation, the postponement, the prevention of war.

A beginning was made in the Declaration of Paris in 1856, abolishing privateering, protecting neutral goods and vessels, and regulating blockades. With this, International Law passed out of the stage of mere jurists' opinion and commenced to form an actual code. A stride forward was taken in the Geneva Convention of 1864, for the benefit of

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soldiers wounded in the field, to which practically all nations have subscribed. In the American Civil War, the "Christian Commission" showed what the spirit of Christ could effect in the midst of mortal conflict.

In the same year as the Geneva Convention, was born the International Working-men's Association. It was suggested at the International Exhibition in London two years previously. It did not last more than ten years, but it inspired in Governments more terror than its actual strength warranted, and left an ideal vague but potent hovering over the mind of the world's Labour.

Social Christianity in its international phase, was, during the decade that followed the Franco-German War of 1870-71, chiefly occupied with championing the Christian peoples of the Balkans against the tyranny of the unspeakable Turk. Its religious passion found magnificent expression in the eloquence of Mr. GLADSTONE (1809-1898). His tongue and Russia's sword freed the Balkan peoples; but his later campaign to save Armenia failed. Nevertheless, "a great Christian" himself and revered by the world as essentially a Christian statesman, he did great things in eliciting a Christian conscience among the peoples in international affairs. The first Act of Arbitration between Great Powers was carried through by him in settling the Alabama dispute with the United States in 1872.

But in 1894, when the pressure of competitive

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armaments was painfully felt all over Europe, Mr. Gladstone stated in Parliament that no representations to other European Powers with a view to mutual disarmament could be advantageously made. Next month a Monition came to a London soul in prayer over the world-crisis, to "approach the Emperor of Russia ; through him deliverance would come." Alexander III., on being communicated with, was found to be meditating action, which he felt he could not take unless he were approached. The outbreak of the Japanese-Chinese war and his own death, postponed action, but four years later Nicholas II. took up his father's policy and expressed the Romanoff ideal—which came to Alexander I., as we have seen, after long struggling in prayer—by the circular to the Powers which resulted in the first Hague Conference (1899). So by two known channels of prayer—and through how many more only God can tell—the Initiative of the Unseen Director was conveyed which led to the convening of the first World-Parliament.

Hague Conference No. 1 added much to the store of International Law ; it set up a panel of judges, called the permanent court of arbitration, but it was the second Hague Conference (1907) which was the most representative assembly yet convened of the governments of mankind ; 44 out of the 48 States then ruling the world being present. International Law was again enriched by many conventions, but the crucial issue was presented by the American

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Resolution committing all the Powers present to Obligatory Arbitration in case of disputes likely to lead to war. This would have been a drastic step towards permanent peace. It was carried by a majority, but there being an absence of unanimity it fell to the ground. Among the nine opposing Powers were Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria. Preparations were being made for the Third Hague Conference to be held in 1915. Both the earlier Conferences were enswathed in prayer—concerted prayer—at the constant request of principal promoters of the movement ; and the progress then made was gratefully attributed to the Guidance Supreme.

But in 1914 the four Powers which had opposed obligatory arbitration in the Conference involved civilization in the World-War. The moral revulsion of mankind showed itself in the ever widening circle of Allies and Associates which closed round the aggressors and utterly defeated them. Whatever may have been the motives of statesmen, there can be no doubt that the peoples joined in the war against the Central European Powers in the spirit of crusaders, resolved to put an end to war for ever. It was the armed Conscience of Christendom in penal pursuit of conscienceless Militarism.

Not without significance are the facts that Marshal Foch, who stated that he received his victorious plan of campaign by inspiration from on high, and Admiral Beatty, who invoked the prayer of the

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Edinburgh churches to support him in his decisive venture—the Military and the Naval heads of embattled Christendom—are both pronounced believers. And when the war was over, it was seen that the chief artificers of the enduring structure of Peace were animated by the same high Christian principle. The American President, initiator of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and its chief British draftsman, made no secret of their religious inspirations.

With the establishment of the League of Nations, comprising more than fifty governments, the world enters on an entirely new era. Covenant and Council and Assembly stand in need of much amendment ; but they have the means of making amendment. Already the League has done much in creating and expressing a world-opinion, and in collective efforts to limit the ravages of disease, to liberate prisoners, and to suppress the hideous traffic in women and children. It has done a little to avoid bloodshed ; it might have done much more ; and it has settled minor disputes between nations. The political unity of the world, in however elastic a form and with admittedly great and grievous gaps, has begun. One comprehensive phase of the Kingdom of God on earth has actually arrived. Isaiah's dream of a world-court open to all nations is finding fulfilment in the Permanent Court of International Justice now functioning at the Hague. The Vision in Daniel of a kingdom of humanity

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including all peoples, nations and languages is blocked out in rough outline in the Assembly of more than fifty nations at Geneva. Collective humanity is a political fact. Yet, as M. Bourgeois has stated, the League of Nations is in direct continuation of the Hague Conferences. A terrible police war intervened to dispose of the international marauders ; but the earlier work, after this interruption, has been resumed in the later, with wider scope and fuller powers. And both must be traced back to the Unseen Initiative disclosed to prayer. The result, even so far as yet achieved, is the most colossal triumph, on a world-scale, of Social Christianity.

Fuller information as to the beginnings of the Hague Conferences (pp. 249, 250), and of the social legislation mentioned pp. 216, 217, is given in *The Unseen Leadership* by the present author.

EPILOGUE

THE foregoing survey suggests that the human race, though far from the consummation, is nearing a culminating stage in its history. The whole earth is explored. All parts of it are within comparatively easy reach of each other. The produce of the whole globe is enjoyed by an increasing proportion of all peoples. Over the whole terrene expanse, our material civilization is being rapidly diffused. The benefits of physical science are common property. The culture of the Christian peoples is more and more accepted as the universal standard. Formidable obstructions have been removed from the path of progress. Torture has gone. Slavery is abolished. Persecution of the old horrible sort has disappeared from Christendom. Prohibition of alcoholic drinks has conquered most of North America ; its "approaching trample" is heard at the door of many nations. Among the foremost peoples citizenship is being enriched with the long untapped resources of womanhood. Education is bound soon to become universal, among the coloured as well as among the white races. Leading minds everywhere are learning to think in terms, not of nation or empire alone, but of the human race. The

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Kingdom of God has been rediscovered ; and the pace of world-evangelism is increasing.

The means are in our hands for clearing away some of the greatest evils from which mankind for ages has suffered. Through the League of Nations, properly extended, amended, equipped, war can be finally banished : the worst diseases can be traced, localized, perhaps extinguished : horrible crimes will find no frontier beyond which to escape : and famine can be made a mere memory. The International Labour Office, with its inquiries into all parts of the world and into every sort of social problem, with its pooled knowledge of the whole human situation, supplies the instrument by which the most backward conditions of Labour—that is, of the common people generally—can be steadily raised to the level of the most advanced populations. An English Primate thinks Poverty can be abolished in a couple of generations. And the ever widening participation of men and women in the governing power imposes a growing check on selfish exploitation by the few.

If its wisdom is in any degree commensurate with its opportunity, the human race has before it a period of greater happiness than this earth has known. If ! The condition is exacting. The possibility of the best is also the possibility of the worst. The self-annihilation of the race is not wholly inconceivable.

To prevent this frightful alternative, the way has

EPILOGUE

been shown in all the ages of expanding Social Christianity traversed in these volumes. Surrender of the human will to the Will of the Christ is the key to social progress and to eventual social felicity. The will surrendered may have to undergo anguish, ignominy, death, but society reaps the harvest of its pains. And this record will have been written in vain if it has not made evident that, as in the days of His flesh, but much more widely, He calls, He commands, He impels, whom He Himself will. He is the ever-living Commander, assigning to each willing soul the task that must be done. And the soul opens to the print of His Mandate in prayer. Let any one refer to the instances cited in the index under the head of "Prayer as the Channel of Initiative"; let him reflect upon the greatness of the movements in this manner originated: and he can hardly remain in doubt as to the actual Source. To emperor or peasant, to learned or unlettered, to artless girl or deepest thinker, the Imperative has come which has shaped or reshaped history. The moral of the whole story is, Whatsoever He saith unto you, Do it ! Listen ; and obey !

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* *

To many readers the selection of instances of Social Christianity given in these volumes may seem arbitrary, and the omissions glaring. In Irish phrase, the work is, admittedly, full—of gaps. Perhaps most to be regretted is the absence of a complete bibliography.

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